







T H E  
L I F E

Of the MOST REVEREND

Dr. *JOHN TILLOTSON*,  
LORD ARCHBISHOP of *Canterbury*.

Compiled chiefly from

HIS ORIGINAL PAPERS  
AND  
L E T T E R S.

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By *THOMAS BIRCH*, D.D.

Rector of the United Parishes of *St. Margaret Pat-  
tens and St. Gabriel Fenchurch*, and Secretary to  
the ROYAL SOCIETY.

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The SECOND EDITION, corrected and enlarged.

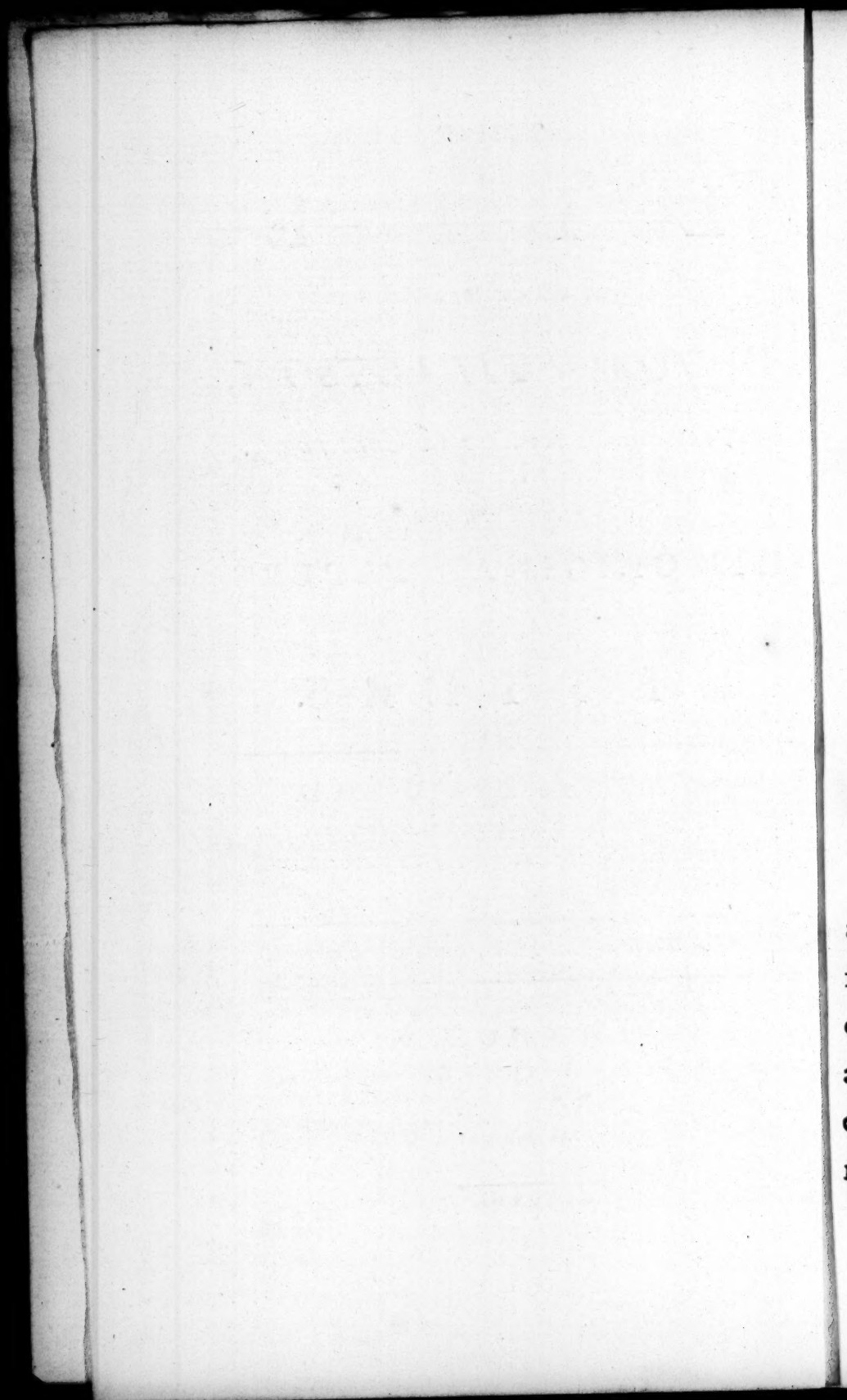
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M.DCC.LIII.



To the Most Reverend

H I S G R A C E,  
*T H O M A S,*

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*,  
Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*.

MY LORD,

**T**HE present attempt to do justice to the memory of one of the most amiable, as well as eminent, of your predecessors, owes so much to your Grace's communication and assistance, that I shall alledge no excuse for this public offer of it, tho' the performance itself may require one.

iv D E D I C A T I O N.

The numerous readers, who have received the most useful entertainment and instruction from his writings, to which our language is equally oblig'd with our common Christianity, have long regretted, that so many successive editions should have pass'd the press without the usual respect, paid to inferior writers, of some previous account of one, whose history would afford ample subject both for curiosity and example.

It was with a just diffidence, that I undertook this work, unwilling to obtrude again upon the world, in any difference of form, such facts only, as it was already possess'd of. But your Grace's favour encourag'd my prosecution of it, by opening to me that valuable treasure of manuscripts in your palace at *Lambeth*,  
which



## DEDICATION. v

which I had been indulg'd in the use of upon other occasions. There I soon met with a volume in Archbishop TILLOTSON's own hand-writing, containing, besides remarks made in the course of his reading, his designs for the farther defence, illustration, and inforcement of our holy religion, and draughts of several papers and letters, that may still raise him higher in the public opinion. These his modesty had conceal'd in his own secret characters : But having been decypher'd for me by a very worthy friend of mine \*, whose reverence for the writer, and satisfaction in unlocking his sentiments, soften'd the labour of the task, they are now incorporated with such other

\* The late Mr. PHILIP GIBBS, author of *An historical account of compendious and swift writing*, and of an *Essay towards a farther improvement of short-hand*.

vi. *DEDICATION.*

other collections, as my own researches, and those of my friends, could procure.

And where could the result of the whole be presented with so much propriety, independently of my own obligations, as to the patronage of a successor of this illustrious Archbishop, resembling him in many respects more important than that of filling the same See ; eminence in the great office of a Christian preacher ; condescension and affability, reconciling inferiors to elevation of rank, without detracting from its dignity ; humanity and generosity unrestrain'd by the parties and distinctions of mankind ; moderation of temper and principles most friendly to the true interests of the establish'd church ; and a known reluctance to accepting the first station  
in

*D E D I C A T I O N.* vii

in it, with this peculiar circumstance of having before shewn the highest qualifications for it, by a conduct in the second, from which the public safety received its earliest support at its most dangerous crisis?

But the concurrent sentiments of the nation anticipate me upon these obvious topics ; nor shall I attempt any thing farther, than to express my own gratitude, and the high esteem and veneration, with which I am,

MY LORD,

YOUR GRACE'S

Most dutiful, most obliged, and

most obedient humble Servant,

THO. BIRCH.

DEDICATION

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of having before them the highest  
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gratitude, and the high esteem and  
veneration, with which I am,

My Dear,

Your Obedient Son,

Most Obedient, most obliged, &c.

most obedient servant

Thos. Bacon

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T H E  
L I F E  
O F

D R. J O H N T I L L O T S O N ,  
Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

**D**R. JOHN TILLOTSON, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was descended of a family antiently of the name of TILSTON of *Tilston* in *Cheshire*, the ancestor of which was NICOLAS DE TILSTON, lord of the manor of *Tilston*, from whom descended NICOLAS DE TILSTON in the ninth year of king Edward III, whose great grandson and heir ROGER TILSTON, Esq; in the reign of HENRY V. married CATHERINE second daughter of Sir JOHN LEIGH, of *Baguley* in *Cheshire*, Knt. His son and heir THOMAS TILSTON married ELIZABETH daughter and heiress of HUGH HEATH of *Huxley*, in the same county, as RICHARD the second son of this THOMAS did MAUD daughter of RICHARD BOSTOCK, by whom he had several sons, of whom the third, ROGER, of *Newport* in *Shropshire*, married ELIZABETH second daughter of



## 2 *The Life of Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON,*

WILLIAM LEIGHTON, second son of Sir THOMAS LEIGHTON of *Walleſborough*, in the ſame county, Knt. The third ſon of this RALPH was THOMAS, of *Wookliſſ* in the pariſh of *Carlton* in *Craven* in the county of *York*, who changed his name from TILSTON to TILLOTSON. His ſon GEORGE TILLOTSON had by his wife ELEANOR, daughter of ELLIS NUTTER of *Pendle Foreſt* in *Lancaſhire*, a ſon and heir, ROBERT, the father of the archbiſhop<sup>a</sup>, who was the eldeſt of three ſons, JOSHUA and ISRAEL being the younger; and was born of parents more diſtinguiſhed by their integrity and piety, than their rank and fortune<sup>b</sup>. His father, Mr. ROBERT TILLOTSON, was a conſiderable clothier of *Sowerby* in the pariſh of *Hallifax*, in the county of *York*, and remarkable for a good underſtanding, and an uncommon knowledge of the ſcriptures; but ſo zealouſly attached to the ſyſtem of CALVIN, which was almoſt univerſally receiv'd in that age, that his prejudices in favour of it were ſcarce to be moderated by all the reaſonings of his ſon, whom he liv'd to ſee Dean of *Canterbury*, being, as appears from a letter of the Dean<sup>c</sup>, alive in *May* 1679. His mother was MARY, the daughter of THOMAS DOBSON, of the ſame place, Gentleman<sup>d</sup>, a woman

<sup>a</sup> From the genealogy of the family of TILSTON or TILLOTSON drawn up in the year 1682, compar'd with one in the office of heralds, and communicated to me by the Rev. JOSHUA TILLOTSON, M. A. the worthy and learned ſurmaſter of St. Paul's ſchool, London, and great nephew of the Archbiſhop, being grandſon of his brother ISRAEL.

<sup>b</sup> *Prayers before his conſecration.* <sup>c</sup> Directed to his couſin Mr. TIMOTHY BENTLEY, of *Sowerby-Dean*, and communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. TILLOTSON.

<sup>d</sup> Life of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, p. 4. edit. London, 1717, fol. This piece, of which there is alſo an edition in 8vo, is pretended, in the title-page, to have been compil'd from the minutes of the Rev. Mr. YOUNG, late Dean of Salisbury, by F. H. M. A. with many curious memoirs, communicated by the late Right Rev. GILBERT, Lord Biſhop of Sarum. Biſhop KEN-

NET,

man of excellent character, but unhappy for many years of her life in the loss of her understanding<sup>e</sup>. He was born at a house called *Haugh-End*, in *Sowerby*, in the latter end of *September*, or beginning of *October* 1630, and baptiz'd there on the third of *October*; one of his godfathers being Mr. JOSHUA WITTON, a native of *Sowerby*, afterwards Rector of *Thornhill*, in the same county, from which he was ejected in 1662, for nonconformity<sup>f</sup>. His enemies indeed in the reign of CHARLES II. rais'd a story, reviv'd after his promotion to the See of *Canterbury*, alluded to by himself in a letter to lady *Russel* in *August* 1692, and said by Dr. HICKES<sup>g</sup> to have taken its rise from his father's very early turning Anabaptist, that he was never baptiz'd at all. And Dr. PETER BIRCH, Prebendary of *Westminster*, who, tho' himself educated in the Presbyterian principles<sup>h</sup>, affected to distinguish himself by his zeal for the church, is suppos'd to have meant our Prelate, in his sermon before the House of Commons, on the 30th of *January* 1693<sup>i</sup>, where<sup>i</sup> he complain'd of *fathers of the church, who never were her sons*. But his baptism, on the day above-mentioned, is incontestably prov'd by the parish register, a certificate of which was attested by Mr. JOSEPH WILKINSON, Vicar of *Hallifax*, and Jo. GAUKROGER, Clerk of that parish.

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His

NET, in the III<sup>d</sup> vol of the *Complete History of England*, p. 673, note (b), second edition, observes, that "some persons had reason to believe, that *Bishop* BURNET and *Dean* YOUNG "had little or no hand in that life:" and both the performance itself, and the name of the bookseller, E. CURLL, will confirm that suspicion.

<sup>e</sup> Prayers, *ubi supra*.

<sup>f</sup> Dr. CALAMY's Account, vol. II. p. 795. second edit. 1713. and Continuation, p. 942.

<sup>g</sup> Some discourses upon Dr. BURNET and Dr. TILLOTSON, occasioned by the late funeral sermon of the former upon the latter, p. 62. edit. London, 1695, in 4to.

<sup>h</sup> WOOD. Athen. Oxon, vol. II,

col. 1060. second edit.

<sup>i</sup> P. 20.

#### 4 *The Life of Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON,*

His father, out of a small estate, gave him so liberal an education, as became the foundation of that eminence of character and station, which he afterwards attain'd; and enabled him to return to his parents, and their children, the kindness, which he had receiv'd from them, and to shew himself a father to them <sup>k</sup>.

After he had, with a quick proficiency, pass'd through the Grammar schools, and attain'd a skill in the learned languages superior to his years, he was sent to *Cambridge*, in the year 1647, at the age of seventeen, and admitted Pensioner of *Clare-Hall*, on the 23d of *April* that year, and into the matricula of that university on the first of *July* following. But in his fourth year there, the course of his studies receiv'd a considerable interruption, and his life was in imminent danger, from a severe sickness, followed by an uncommon kind of intermittent delirium, under which he laboured till he was gradually reliev'd from it at his father's house at *Sowerby*, whither he had retired from the university for the re-establishment of his health <sup>l</sup>. He commenced Bachelor of arts at *Midsummer* 1650, and Master of arts in 1654, having been chosen Fellow of his college about the 27th of *November* 1651. His tutor, in whose fellowship he succeeded, was Mr. DAVID CLARKSON, B. D. eminent for his writings, particularly one intitled, *No evidence of Diocesan episcopacy in the primitive times*, printed in 1681, in 4to. in answer to Dr. STILLINGFLEET, and

<sup>k</sup> Prayers, *ubi supra*. <sup>l</sup> This was probably that great and dangerous sickness, mentioned in his prayers before his consecration. The abovemention'd account of it, and of some remarkable circumstances attending his delirium, was transmitted to me in a letter from the Rev. and learned Mr. FRANCIS BLACKBURNE, Archdeacon of *Cleveland*, and Rector of *Richmond* in *Yorkshire*, who had receiv'd it from the late Rev. Mr. ROBERT DENTON, son of Mr. JOHN DENTON, the Archbishop's chamber-fellow at *Clare-Hall*.

and another on the same subject, printed two years after his death, which happen'd on the 14th of June 1686<sup>m</sup>, under the title of *Primitive episcopacy*; answer'd by Dr. HENRY MAURICE in 1691, in his *Defence of Diocesan episcopacy*. Mr. CLARKSON was, according to Mr. BAXTER<sup>n</sup>, "a Divine of extraordinary worth for solid judgment, healing moderate principles, acquaintance with the fathers, great ministerial abilities, and a godly upright life." But his attachment to the principles of the Nonconformists depriv'd him of the living of *Mortlack*, in *Surry*, in August 1662. However, his excellent pupil always preserv'd that singular respect for him, which he had contracted while he was under his tuition<sup>o</sup>; as he did his early friendship for two other eminent Nonconformist ministers, Mr. FRANCIS HOLDCRAFT, who had been his chamber-fellow at *Clare-Hall*<sup>p</sup>, and Mr. THOMAS SHARP, cousin of the Archbishop of that name, who had been his pupil, and was nephew of Mr. CLARKSON, his own tutor<sup>q</sup>.

Thus his first education and impressions were among those, who were then called *Puritans*, but of the best sort. And yet, even before his mind was opened to clearer thoughts, he felt somewhat within him, that disposed him to larger notions, and a better temper. The books, which were put into the hands of the youth at that time, being generally heavy, he could scarce bear them, even before he knew better things. But he soon met with the immortal work of Mr. CHILLINGWORTH<sup>r</sup>, a writer,

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whom

<sup>m</sup> A short character of that excellent Divine Mr. DAVID CLARKSON, printed without the name of place or year.

<sup>n</sup> Reliquiæ BAXTERIANÆ, part III. p 97.

<sup>o</sup> Dr. CALAMY's Account, p. 667.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. p. 86.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. p. 813.

<sup>r</sup> A sermon preached at the funeral of Dr. TILLOTSON, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Dr. BURNET, Bishop of Sarum, p. 10, 11. edit. London, 1694, in 4to.



## 6 *The Life of Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON,*

whom he stiles \* *incomparable, and the glory of his age and nation*, tho' stigmatiz'd, as he observes, with the character of a Socinian, for no other cause, but his *worthy and successful attempts to make the Christian religion reasonable, and to discover those firm and solid foundations, upon which our faith is built*. This admirable book gave his mind the ply, that it held ever after, and put him upon a true scent. He was soon freed from his first prejudices, or rather he was never mastered by them. Yet he still adher'd to that strictness of life, to which he was bred, and retained a just value and due tenderness for the men of that persuasion; and by the strength of his reason, together with the clearness of his principles, brought over more serious persons from their scruples to the communion of the church of *England*, and fix'd more in it, than any man perhaps of that time. But he neither treated them with contempt or hatred; and he disliked all levities and railings upon those subjects. This gave him great advantages in dealing with them; and he still persisted in it, how much soever he was either disliked or suspected by angry men.

As he got into a new method of study, so he entered into friendships with some great men, which contributed not a little to the perfecting his own mind. There was then a set of as extraordinary persons in the university, where he was form'd, as perhaps any age has produc'd; Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH, Master of *Christ's College*; Dr. BENJAMIN WHICHCOT, Provost of *King's*; Dr. HENRY MORE, and Dr. GEORGE RUST, Fellows of *Christ's*, and the latter afterwards Bishop of *Down* in *Ireland*; Dr. JOHN WORTHINGTON, Master of *Jesus*; and Mr. JOHN SMITH<sup>†</sup>, Fellow of *Queen's College*,  
author

\* Sermon on Heb. xi. 6. intitled, *The efficacy, usefulness, and reasonableness of divine faith.*

† He was born at  
*Achurch*



author of the *Select discourses*, less known at present, than the sense and profound learning shewn in them deserve. These eminent men were equally admirable for the clearness and comprehension of their thoughts, the extent of their knowledge, and the excellence of their tempers. But that, which gave him his last finishing, was his close and long friendship with Dr. JOHN WILKINS, afterwards Bishop of *Chester*. He went into all the best things, that were in that great man, but so, that he perfected every one of them. For though Bishop WILKINS had more general knowledge, yet Dr. TILLOTSON was the greater Divine; and if the former had more flame, the latter was more correct. Both acted with great plainness, and were raised above regarding vulgar censures. And as Bishop WILKINS had a talent so peculiar to himself, that perhaps never any man could admonish and reprove with such weight and authority, and in a way so obliging, as he did; so no man knew better than this his great friend the art of gaining upon mens hearts, and of making themselves find out that, which might be amiss in them; tho' the gentleness and modesty of his temper had not so well fitted him for the rough work of reproving<sup>a</sup>.

After his admission into a fellowship in his college, besides the pupils transferred to him by his own tutor, Mr. CLARKSON, he had several others enter'd

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under

*Achurch* near *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*, being the son of a farmer in that parish, and educated at *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge* under Dr. WHICHOT. Thence he was elected Fellow of *Queen's College*, where he became an eminent tutor, and read a mathematical lecture for some years in the public schools. His *Select Discourses*, which were College-exercises, and contributed to raise new thoughts and a sublimer style in the members of the University, were published by his friend Dr. WORTHINGTON in *April* 1660. He died on the 7th of *August*, 1652, and was interr'd in the chapel of *Queen's College*, after a funeral sermon upon him, preached by Mr. SIMON PATRICK, then fellow of the College.

<sup>a</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 11, 12.

8 *The Life of Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON,*

under him the same year, the first of whom was Mr. JOHN BERDMORE, whose *Memorials* of him, inserted in the *Appendix*, give a just picture of his admirable temper, unaffected piety, well-directed studies, and exemplary care of those under his tuition; and tho' drawn up only for the writer's private review of a character, which he reverenc'd and admir'd, serve in general to confirm the highest ideas, which the world has hitherto form'd of it.

But inoffensive and irreproachable as Mr. TILLOTSON's behaviour was during his residence in the university, in times of violence, and irreconcilable opposition both of political and religious sentiments, it has been particularly attack'd by Dr. GEORGE HICKES in a pamphlet, full of such virulence against our great Prelate's memory, as does no honour to the writer's own, and deserves to be treated with more severity of expression, than I should chuse to use concerning a man, to whose learning, especially in the northern languages and antiquities, the world is highly oblig'd. In this piece \*, among other unauthorized and improbable invectives, having represented Mr. TILLOTSON as *season'd with the principles of resistance and rebellion*, when he was first enter'd at *Cambridge*; he affirms, that not long after his coming thither, when King CHARLES I. was brought by that town to *Hampton-Court*, and lodg'd near it at Sir JOHN CUTTS's house at *Childerley*, and the scholars went thither to kiss his Majesty's hands, Mr. TILLOTSON, and some few more, had so signalized themselves on the side of those, who were then called *Roundheads*, that they were not admitted to that honour with the rest of the scholars. Dr. HICKES adds, that within two years after Mr. TILLOTSON went out *Midsummer Bachelor of Arts*, by which having locally qualified himself for a Fellowship, " he got the *Rump's mandamus* for Dr. GUNNING's,

\* *Some discourses*, &c. p. 62.

"NING's, (which, I think, says Dr. HICKES, one of his own gang enjoyed a little before him) as a "reward for his good affection to the *cause*." That from that time, till his leaving the college, he governed it, the senior Fellows not daring to oppose him, on account of the interest, which he had with his great masters, for whom he was so zealous, that the corner of the college, which he and his pupils took up in the new building, was called the *Roundhead* corner. And that when King CHARLES II. was defeated at *Worcester*, he sent for the tables, in which the college grace was written, and after the passage of thanksgiving for their benefactors, *Te laudamus pro benefactoribus nostris*, &c. he added with his own hand, and of his own head, *præsertim pro nuperâ victoriâ contra CAROLUM STUARTUM in agro Wigornienfi reportatâ*, or to that effect.

The grounds of these charges being examin'd by the members of that college, immediately after the publication of that libel, they were found to be absolutely false<sup>y</sup>; and the following remarks will be sufficient to destroy their credit. Mr. TILLOTSON was not enter'd of the college till *April 23, 1647*; and therefore it is not at all surprising, if so young a student was not admitted to the honour of kissing the king's hand, when his Majesty was in that neighbourhood in the beginning of *June* following<sup>z</sup>. He took the degree of Bachelor of arts at *Midsummer, 1650*, and became Fellow of the college *November 27. the year following*<sup>a</sup>: whereas Mr. GUNNING was ejected from his Fellowship six years before, by warrant from the Earl of *Manchester*, and

<sup>y</sup> Bishop BURNET's Reflections upon a pamphlet intitled, *Some discourses*, &c. p. 164, 165, 166. edit. London, 1696.

<sup>z</sup> WHITELOCKE's Memorials, p. 252. second edit. Bishop BURNET says, by mistake, *two months* after Mr. TILLOTSON's admission.

<sup>a</sup> Bishop BURNET says erroneously, *before Christmas* that year, viz. 1650.

succeeded in it by Mr. CLARKSON, May 5, 1645<sup>b</sup>; so that it cannot, with any propriety, be said, that Mr. TILLOTSON came into Mr. GUNNING's Fellowship. For though men, as Bishop BURNET observes, may consider the avoidance, that immediately preceded their own admission, yet none are so scrupulous, as to pursue the enquiry farther.

With respect to his assuming the liberty of altering the college grace after meat, and adding a special mention of the battle of *Worcester*, there was not the least memory of any such incident in the college in the year 1696, when the inquiry was made. And it is highly improbable, that a junior Fellow, and so young a Bachelor of arts, could have presumed to have done such a thing; or that the Master and senior Fellows would have suffer'd it. Dr. BLYTHE, Master of the college, and Dr. VINCENT, senior Fellow, when Bishop BURNET wrote his *Reflections* on Dr. HICKES's *discourses*, had been admitted of *Clare-Hall* soon after the date of that story: but neither of them ever heard of any thing of that nature; which is scarce possible, if the story had been true, considering the genius of such societies, where the memory of incidents of that kind is not easily lost. And it is further remarkable, that there was not the least mention of it in the year 1660, when, as is usual in the revolutions of public affairs, all such stories were industriously remember'd and propagated, and made use of to fix the characters of men. On the other hand, Mr. TILLOTSON was, as long as Dr. BLYTHE and Dr. VINCENT could remember him, the same modest and good-natur'd man, that he was known to be in a higher elevation. To this vindication of his behaviour, while he was resident in the university, may be added the substance of a letter from Mr. JOHN

DENTON

<sup>b</sup> LE NEVE, *Lives of the Protestant Bishops*, vol. I. part 1. p. 222.

<sup>c</sup> *Reflections*, p. 165.



DENTON of *Clare-Hall*<sup>c</sup>, to one of his friends<sup>d</sup>, who had applied to him for that purpose; in which he remarks, that he had found out two persons, besides himself, who were in *Clare-Hall* that summer, in which *Worcester*-fight happen'd, viz. Sir WATKINSON PAYLER, who was a nobleman, and Mr. JAMES MOUNTAIGNE, who was Fellow of the college; and that if there had been any such alteration made in the college grace, some of them, who daily heard it read, would have known it: whereas all three of them profess'd, that they never knew or heard of any such thing done, or attempted to be done, but believ'd it to be a malicious lie. Mr. DENTON, who was in the college when King CHARLES I. pass'd by *Cambridge*, had forgotten, whether Mr. TILLOTSON went to Sir JOHN CUTTS's house amongst several others, who did; but was pretty confident, that the story of his being denied the honour to

<sup>c</sup> He was admitted Sizar and pupil to Mr. DAVID CLARKSON on the 4th of May, 1646, as appears from the register of the college. He was ejected by the act of uniformity in 1662 from the living of *Oswaldkirk* near *Helmsey* in *Yorkshire*, and not from that of *Bolton*, as Dr. CALAMY affirms in his account, p. 818, who has rectified that mistake in his *Continuation*, p. 950, tho', as it seems, without knowing, that it was a mistake, it being indeed Mr. SNATHAN, and not Mr. JOHN DENTON, who was ejected from *Bolton* upon *Dearn*, or more properly *Darwent*. Mr. JOHN DENTON afterwards conform'd, and being re-ordain'd by Dr. THOMAS BARLOW, Bishop of *Lincoln*, was collated to the living of *Stonegrave*, within two miles of *Oswaldkirk*, and a Prebend of the church of *York*, both which he held till his death, on the 4th of *January*, 1708, in the 83d year of his age, as is evident from the inscription on his tombstone in the church of *Stonegrave*, in which living he was succeeded by his son Mr. ROBERT DENTON, who was educated at *Catherine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and died about 1748. Mr. JOHN DENTON having contracted a most intimate friendship with Mr. TILLOTSON at *Clare-Hall*, they kept up a constant correspondence during his Grace's life.

<sup>d</sup> Life of Archbishop TILLOTSON, p. 6, 7. and Memoirs of the life and writings of Mr. WHISTON, written by himself, part 1. p. 27, 28, 29.



to kiss his Majesty's hand was not true, having never heard of any such thing; which, if it had been fact, he should certainly have done, if not from Mr. TILLOTSON himself, yet from some others, several of Mr. DENTON's acquaintance being there. With respect to the charge of Mr. TILLOTSON's governing the college, and the senior Fellows not daring to oppose him, because of the interest, which he had with his *great masters*; Mr. DENTON declares this to be very malicious and false; for he was far from being of an imperious humour, and was remarkable for that sweetness of temper, which he ever after retain'd, and was highly respected by the senior Fellows, who indeed, out of regard to the uncommon understanding and prudence conspicuous in him even in those early years, always consulted him about the affairs of the college. And Mr. MOUNTAIGNE, who was one of them, and had been as strongly attach'd as any person to the interest of King CHARLES I, having been several years in his army, always retain'd a very great honour for Mr. TILLOTSON, and never mention'd him but in terms of high respect; and after the publication of Dr. HICKES's *Some discourses*, wrote a letter to a friend in vindication of Mr. TILLOTSON from the imputations cast upon him in that libel, with regard to his conduct in *Clare-Hall*. This letter<sup>e</sup> having never yet, to my knowledge, appear'd in print, will be proper to be inserted at length.

“ Sir,

“ **I** Do very well remember King CHARLES the  
 “ First's being brought by *Cambridge to Hamp-*  
 “ *ton-Court*, and his lodging at Sir JOHN CUTTS's  
 house;

<sup>e</sup> Communicated to me from the papers of Dr. BURNET, Bishop of *Salisbury*, by his son the honourable Sir THOMAS BURNET, Knt. one of his Majesty's Justices of the Common-pleas.

“ house ; but never heard of TILLOTSON’s (to  
 “ give him the name we then call’d him by) either  
 “ going thither, or being refus’d to kiss the King’s  
 “ hand.

“ I am thoroughly persuaded he was made Fel-  
 “ low by election of the Master and Fellows, and  
 “ not by *mandamus* ; for having been in the King’s  
 “ army five years, and returning to *Clare-Hall* in  
 “ 1647, I do not remember, that any *mandamus*  
 “ was sent to the college after that time.

“ I never heard, that the corner, where his  
 “ chamber was, was called the *Round-heads corner* ;  
 “ and he could not fill that corner with himself and  
 “ pupils ; for three or four Fellows besides himself  
 “ had their chambers there.

“ And what the pamphlet adds of his sending,  
 “ after King CHARLES II. was beaten at *Worcester*,  
 “ for the tables, in which the college grace was  
 “ written, and after the passage of thanksgiving for  
 “ their benefactors adding with his own hand, and  
 “ of his own head, *præsertim pro nuperâ victoriâ*  
 “ *contra CAROLUM STUARTUM, &c.* it is all of it  
 “ a most false and impudent lie, reflecting not only  
 “ upon the person, whom he would scandalise, but  
 “ upon the whole college.

“ And of the same nature is what the libeller  
 “ saith of his *governing the college*, and over-awing  
 “ the senior Fellows by the *interest he had with his*  
 “ *great masters* : and I am much concern’d (as the  
 “ rest of the senior Fellows would have been, if  
 “ they were living) to assert the horrid falsity  
 “ of it. I think I am the only surviving of the  
 “ then senior Fellows ; and I can truly say he was  
 “ as respectful and obliging to all the senior Fellows,  
 “ as possibly could be, and was very much re-  
 “ spected by them. For my own part, I always  
 “ thought myself much obliged to him for his kind  
 “ respects

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“ respects to me, both in the college, and since I  
“ left it.

“ As to his being chaplain to PRIDEAUX, and  
“ teaching of his son, I know nothing of it. But  
“ if we take it for granted, I know not how his  
“ teaching the young man his grammar should  
“ influence him into a rebellion, which happen’d  
“ 20 or 30 years after.

“ And now, by what I have written, which I  
“ will maintain the truth of, you may see what  
“ little reason the libelier had to say, that all he  
“ related was *upon very good authority*. I am,

“ SIR,

“ Your humble Servant,

“ JAMES MOUNTAIGNE.”

Mr. TILLOTSON being appointed in the year 1655, to keep the Philosophy Act at the public commencement, performed it in a manner, which not only satisfied the university, but even raised their admiration of him.

The next year, or in the beginning of 1657, he left his college, and went to *London*, being invited by EDMUND PRIDEAUX, Esq; of *Ford-Abbey* in *Devonshire*, to instruct his son. This gentleman had been commissioner of the Great-seal under the Long-parliament, and was then Attorney-general to OLIVER CROMWELL, the Protector. And Dr. HICKES<sup>f</sup>, who omits no circumstance, that can even indirectly reflect upon Mr. TILLOTSON, adds, that his pupil was afterwards *in the rebellion of the Duke of MONMOUTH* in 1685. But, not to repeat Mr. MOUNTAIGNE’s remark, that the conduct of the younger Mr. PRIDEAUX, at so great a distance of time, had no real connexion with his tutor’s institution of him in the rudiments of learning; nor to insist upon the impro-

<sup>f</sup> *Some discourses*, p. 63,

impropriety of such a reflection from Dr. HICKES, whose own brother, Mr. JOHN HICKES, a Non-conformist minister, was actually executed for that rebellion<sup>a</sup>, as Mrs. ALICIA LISLE was for harbouring him; the charge upon that gentleman of being engag'd in it was so far from being well-grounded, that this alone will be sufficient to invalidate the authority of that admir'd head of a party, in all points, in which the interests of it are the least concern'd. For the case of Mr. PRIDEAUX is one of the many instances of the arbitrary temper of that government, which forced the nation into the revolution; and the true circumstances of that case appear in the journal of the House of commons<sup>b</sup>. He was seiz'd and brought to *London* on the 19th of *June*, 1685, by a warrant from the Earl of SUNDERLAND, Secretary of State, dated the 13th, two days after the landing of the Duke of MONMOUTH at *Lyme*, and the same day, on which the account of it was brought to the court at *Whitehall*, without being admitted to an examination, which he desir'd. He continu'd in custody of a messenger till the 14th of *July* following, when he was discharg'd by *Habeas Corpus*, giving security of 10000*l.* for his appearance the first day of the next term. Staying in *London* for that purpose, he was on the 14th of *September* again seiz'd by a warrant of the Earl of SUNDERLAND, and committed close prisoner to the *Tower* for high-treason. While he was in this situation, a general inquiry was made by the agents of Lord JEFFREYS, advanc'd to the post of Lord High Chancellor on the 28th of that month, amongst all the prisoners and condemn'd persons in the west, for an accusation against him; and threats and promises of life were employ'd to that end, that Lord frequently declaring his resolution to hang him.

<sup>a</sup> General Dictionary, article of Dr. HICKES, Vol. VI. p. 156.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. X. p. 112—116.



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him. The dread of this induc'd Mr. PRIDEAUX to make application to the King by several persons; but receiving no other answer, than that his Majesty had given him to the Lord Chancellor, as a reward for his service in the west, he at last agreed with his Lordship for his pardon, after seven months rigorous confinement, upon the payment of 15,000 *l.* These facts being prov'd to the House of Commons soon after the Revolution, a bill was order'd in on the first of *May* 1689, to charge the manors of *Dolby-in-the-Wolds*, and *Neather-Broughton*, in *Leicestershire*, the estate of that Lord, then deceas'd, with the repayment of the 15,000 *l.* and interest, extorted by him from Mr. PRIDEAUX.

While Mr. TILLOTSON resided in the elder Mr. PRIDEAUX's family, he improv'd his interest with that Gentleman to the benefit of his College, for which he obtain'd, by means of the Attorney General, 1000 *l.* out of the Exchequer, for wood and stones, prepared for carrying on its building, but seiz'd and applied by the Parliament party, during the war, to the fortifying of the castle at *Cambridge*. He prevail'd likewise with Mr. DIGGONS, who had been Fellow-commoner of *Clare-Hall*, and was disgusted by some of his Relations, to leave to it an estate of 300 *l.* a year.

His situation in *London* was likewise of advantage to himself, by the opportunities of hearing the best sermons, and forming and cultivating an acquaintance with persons of the most eminent merit, as Dr. RALPH BROWNING, Bishop of *Exeter*, and then preacher at the *Temple*<sup>a</sup>, and Dr. JOHN HACKET, afterwards Bishop of *Litchfield*; and among those of the Presbyterian persuasion, Dr. WILLIAM BATES, Vicar of *St. Dunstan's in the West*; of whose learning and temper he had an esteem,

<sup>a</sup> He had been suffer'd to discharge that office about a year before his death, which happen'd *December* 7, 1659.



esteem, which was the ground of a friendship between them, that continued during the rest of his life.

His having performed the office of chaplain to the Attorney General, is a fact affirm'd not only by Dr. HICKES, but likewise by Mr. HENRY WHARTON, Chaplain to Archbishop SANCROFT, in his manuscript collections concerning the *English* Archbishops and Bishops, repositied in the library at *Lambeth*<sup>b</sup>; though the latter is mistaken in giving Mr. PRIDEAUX the title of *Secretary* to CROMWELL. How long Mr. TILLOTSON lived with Mr. PRIDEAUX, or whether till that gentleman's decease on the 19th of *August*, 1659<sup>c</sup>, does not appear.

He was in *London* at the time of the death of the Protector OLIVER, on the 3d of *September*, 1658, and about a week after was present at a very remarkable scene at the palace of *Whitehall*. For happening to be there on a fast-day of the household, he went out of curiosity into the presence chamber, where the solemnity was kept; and saw there, on the one side of the table, the new Protector plac'd with the rest of his family, and on the other six preachers, among whom were Dr. JOHN OWEN Dean of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, Dr. THOMAS GOODWIN President of *Magdalen College*, Mr. JOSEPH CARYL, author of the voluminous commentary on *Job*, and Rector of *St. Magnus* in *London*, and Mr. PETER STERRY. The bold fallies of enthusiasm, which Mr. TILLOTSON heard upon this occasion, were sufficient to disgust a man less dispos'd to it than he was both by temper and principles. God was in a manner reproach'd with the deceas'd Protector's services, and challeng'd for taking him away so soon. Dr. GOODWIN, who had pretended to assure them in a prayer, a very few minutes before he expir'd, that he was not to die, had now the confidence to say to God, "Thou  
C " hast

<sup>b</sup> P. 81.

<sup>c</sup> Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* vol. I. col. 232.

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“ hast deceived us, and we were deceived.” And Mr. STERRY, praying for RICHARD, us’d these indecent words, next to blasphemy, “ Make him “ the brightness of the father’s glory, and the express image of his person<sup>d</sup>.”

The personal merit of Mr. TILLOTSON, and that of his services to his college, had not weight enough after the Restoration, to secure him in the possession of his Fellowship, against the pretensions and resentment of Dr. PETER GUNNING, afterwards Bishop of *Ely*; who having conceiv’d some prejudice against him, the ground of which Mr. TILLOTSON could scarce imagine, prevailed upon the College to deprive him of it, though the latter had not succeeded to it upon the Doctor’s ejection, but several years after, upon the legal vacancy of it, by the cession of Mr. CLARKSON; and tho’ the Dr. was to resign it immediately, knowing, that he should be chosen the very next day Master of *Bennet College*, upon the death of Dr. RICHARD LOVE, Dean of *Ely*, in the beginning of *February*, 1667.

The exact time of his Ordination by Dr. THOMAS SYDSEFFE, Bishop of *Galway* in *Scotland*<sup>e</sup>, does not

<sup>d</sup> BURNET’S History of his own time, *vol I. p. 82, 83.*

<sup>e</sup> He was the only *Scots* Bishop living at the Restoration; upon which event he came up to *London*, not doubting, but that he should be advanced to the Primacy of *Scotland*, tho’ he fail’d of his expectations; having given offence to the *English* Bishops by his promiscuous Ordinations, when he first came to *England*. For when the Act of Uniformity required all men, who held any benefices there, to be episcopally ordained; he, who by observing the ill effects of the former violence of the *Scots* Bishops, was become very moderate, with others of the *Scots* Clergy, who gathered about him, ordain’d all those of the *English* Clergy, who came to him, without demanding either oaths or subscriptions of them. This was suppos’d by some to be done by him merely for a subsistence from the fees for the letters of orders granted by him, for he was poor. However he was translated to the Bishoprick of *Orkney*, one of the best revenues of any of the Sees in *Scotland*, in which he lived little more than a year. This is the account of him in Bishop Burnet. Vol. II. p. 132, 133. who in another place, p. 26. styles him a *very learned and good man*.

not appear, though it was probably in the latter end of 1660, or beginning of 1661; in *July* of which last year he attended the Commissioners on the part of the Presbyterians, at the Conference at the *Savoy*. for the review of the Liturgy, as an Auditor only †. And if Mr. EDMUND CALAMY, one of the principal of those Commissioners, had accepted of the Bishopric of *Litchfield*, which was offer'd him, a Canonry of that Church was intended for Mr. TILLOTSON. But though the alterations, which he might have wished for, in the public service of the Church, were not carried in that Conference, he immediately submitted to the Act of Uniformity, which commenc'd on *St. Bartholomew's Day*, 1662.

The first Sermon preach'd by him was for his Friend Mr. DENTON, at *Oswaldkirk* in *Yorkshire*; and the first, which appear'd in print, was that for Dr. BATES, compos'd upon short warning, and preach'd at the Morning exercise at *Cripplegate* on *Matth. vii. 12*. The subject was, *Wherein lies that exact righteousness, which is required between man and man*. It is the tenth of those publish'd by Dr. SAMUEL ANNESLEY at *London*, in 4to. that year, under the title of, *The morning exercise at Cripplegate: or several cases of conscience practically resolved by sundry ministers*, September 1661. The names of the several preachers were not mention'd in that edition; but in the subsequent ones, particularly the fourth in 1677, that of Mr. TILLOTSON appears among the rest. This sermon, was never reprinted with his other writings, tho' it had been more than once publish'd separately, till it was deservedly prefix'd to the edition of his works in 1752, as a discourse full of good sense, though inferior to his later performances in elegance of style, and exactness of composition.

C 2

Upon

† Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, Part II. p. 337.

Upon his dedicating himself to the service of the church, being sensible of the importance of a plain and edifying manner of preaching, he was very little dispos'd to follow the patterns then set him, or indeed those of former times. He form'd therefore one to himself, which has been justly consider'd, as the best model for all succeeding ages <sup>2</sup>.

The great improvements, which he made in this important branch of public instruction, whereby Christianity has made a provision for the spreading the principles of morality and religion, which had been omitted by the Pagan legislators, and very insufficiently attempted by the philosophers of antiquity, will appear to those, who consider the state of the pulpit at the time, when he enter'd upon the function of a preacher. The whole form of the discourses there was oppress'd with an unnecessary mixture of various languages, affected wit, and puerile rhetoric; and the general sense of the text was totally neglected, while every single word of it was separately considered under all its possible meanings. The history of preaching in our own country and language, which cannot indeed be trac'd much higher than the reformation, would shew, that from the beginning of the seventeenth century, as false a taste had infected the pulpit, as had prevail'd after the corruption of the *Roman* eloquence, from the time of *SENECA* till the lower empire; and the gravity and simplicity of style, which distinguished the writers of the preceding age, were almost intirely lost till after the restoration, when our author brought back both purity of language and force of reasoning. The reign of *HENRY VIII.* produc'd two very learned Divines, *Dr. FISHER*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Dr. COLET*, Dean of *St. Paul's*; the former of whom has a few sermons,



and the latter one<sup>a</sup>, still extant, not contemptible for their style or argument. Those of Dr. LATIMER, Bishop of *Worcester*, are defective in dignity and elegance, his frank remonstrances to persons of the highest rank being deliver'd in expressions of peculiar levity, and intermix'd with frequent stories unsuitable to the solemnity of the place and occasion. The homilies drawn up under King EDWARD VI. are to be consider'd as a condescension to the capacities of the common people. In the long reign of his sister ELIZABETH, appear'd several preachers, who did honour to it, JEWEL, Bishop of *Salisbury*, WHITGIFT, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, SANDYS, Archbishop of *York*, whose sermons are perhaps superior to any of his contemporaries, and HOOKER, author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. But the great corruption of the oratory of the pulpit may be ascrib'd to Dr. ANDREWS, successively Bishop of *Chichester*, *Ely*, and *Winchester*, whose high reputation on other accounts gave a sanction to that vicious taste introduc'd by him several years before the death of Queen ELIZABETH, one of his printed sermons being preach'd as early as 1588. The pedantry of King JAMES I's court completed the degeneracy of all true eloquence, so that the most applauded preachers of that time are now insupportable; and all the wit and learning of Dr. DONNE cannot secure his sermons from universal neglect; and those of HALES of *Eton* are scarce ever read by the most zealous admirers of his other writings. Bishop HALL of *Exeter*, like many other great men of that age, in this kind of composition sinks extremely below his own performances in all others, wherein he shews himself no ill copyer of SENECA's sententious manner. Dr. SANDERSON, afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the beginning of the

<sup>a</sup> The *English* Translation of his sermon before the Convocation in 1511, is suppos'd to have been done by himself.



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reign of CHARLES I. furnish'd examples of a more easy and natural expression, and a greater connexion and propriety of argument, than the nation had for many years been us'd to ; and the few discourses remaining of CHILLINGWORTH are not unworthy of his character. But the volume of Dr. JEREMY TAYLOR, who began to distinguish himself about the time of that King's death, deserves much higher commendation for the copiousness of his invention, and the extent and beauty of his imagination, on which accounts he may be consider'd as the BARROW of an earlier date. But whoever is desirous of a compendious view of the various manners of preaching in that time, may consult a very ingenious imitation of them by Mr. ABRAHAM WRIGHT, Fellow of *St. John's College in Oxford*, and afterwards Vicar of *Okeham in Rutlandshire*, who in 1657 publish'd *Five sermons in five several styles or ways of preaching* ; the first in that of Bishop ANDREWS ; the second in that of Bishop HALL ; the third in that of Dr. JASPER MAYNE and Mr. THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, two poets and dramatic writers, as well as preachers ; the fourth in that of the *Presbyterians*, and the fifth in that of the *Independents*.

Mr. TILLOTSON began his course of divinity with the true foundation of it, an exact study of the Scriptures, upon which he spent four or five years. He then applied himself to the reading of all the ancient philosophers and writers upon Ethics, and, among the fathers, chiefly St. BASIL and St. CHRYSOSTOM. With these preparations he set himself to compose the greatest variety of sermons, and on the best subjects, that perhaps ever any one man has yet done. His joining with Dr. WILKINS in perfecting the scheme of *a real character and philosophical language*, the essay towards which was publish'd in 1668, led him to consider exactly the truth of language and style, in which no man was

happier, or knew better the art of uniting dignity with simplicity, and tempering these so equally together, that neither his thoughts sunk, nor style swell'd ; keeping always a due mean between flatness and false rhetotic. Together with the pomp of words he cut off likewise all superfluities and needless enlargements. He said what was just necessary to give clear ideas of things, and no more. He laid aside all long and affected periods. His sentences were short and clear ; and the whole thread was of a piece, plain and distinct. No affectations of learning, no torturing of texts, no superficial strains, no false thoughts, nor bold flights. All was solid and yet lively, and grave as well as elegant ; so that few ever heard him, but they found some new thought occur'd ; something, which either they had not considered before, or at least not so distinctly, and with so clear a view as he gave them. Whether he explain'd points of divinity, matters of controversy, or the rules of morality, on which he dwelt most copiously, there was something peculiar in him on all these topics, which conquer'd the mind, as well as commanded the attention of his hearers, who felt all the while, that they were learning somewhat, and were never tired by him ; for he retrenched both the luxuriances of style, and the length of sermons ; and he concluded them with some thoughts of such gravity and use, that he generally dismiss'd his hearers with such reflections, as made a lasting impression upon them. He read his sermons likewise with so due a pronunciation, and in so serious and solemn a manner, that they were not the feebler, but rather the perfecter, even by that way, which often lessens the grace, as much as it adds to the exactness of such discourses<sup>1</sup>. For he was never capable of committing his sermons to memory, or preaching extempore, according to the

C 4

custom

<sup>1</sup> Funeral sermon by Bishop Burnet, p. 13, 14.

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custom of the earlier part of his time, though so great a master of language, as well as the whole compass of theological learning. This appeared from an incident, which I shall relate upon good authority. Happening to be with a friend in the country, who was importunate with him to preach, though he was not furnish'd with a sermon, he ventur'd into the pulpit, where he took for his text, one of the plainest and fullest of matter which he could recollect, *For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ*; upon which he has no less than five discourses in his works: And yet he soon found himself so much at a loss, that after about ten minutes spent with great pain to himself, and no great satisfaction to his audience, he came down with a resolution never to make the like attempt for the future. And it is observable, that the same kind of confusion happen'd to Dr. SANDERSON, Bishop of *Lincoln*, who was equally remarkable for an excellent memory, and a clear and logical head, when, at the persuasion of his friend Dr. HAMMOND, he left his sermon with him, and endeavour'd to repeat it to a village congregation<sup>k</sup>.

The first office in the church, in which we find him employ'd, was that of a Curate, not, as has been affirm'd,<sup>l</sup> to Dr. WILKINS at *St. Laurence Jewry*, some time before the Restoration; since the Doctor was not admitted to that vicarage till near two years after the Restoration, on the 11th of *April* 1662<sup>m</sup>, by the recommendation of his predecessor, Dr. SETH WARD<sup>n</sup>, then advanc'd to the Bishopric of *Exeter*, and afterwards translated to that of *Salisbury*. But the Curacy in which Mr. TILLOTSON began to exercise the Functions of a Divine, was at *Cheeshunt* in *Hertfordshire*, in the years 1661 and 1662<sup>o</sup>, under  
Dr.

<sup>k</sup> Mr. ISAAC WALTON's life of Bishop SANDERSON, edit. London, 1678. <sup>l</sup> Life, p. 7. <sup>m</sup> KENNET's Register and Chronicle, p. 658. <sup>n</sup> Dr. WALTER POPE's Life of Bishop WARD, p. 52. Edit. Lond. 1697. <sup>o</sup> Life, p. 7, 8.

Dr. THOMAS HACKET, the Vicar, who had been before Dean of *Cork* in *Ireland*, and was in *August* 1662, collated to the Rectory of *St. Christopher's* in *London*, in the room of Dr. JOHN PEARSON, afterwards Bishop of *Chester*, which Rectory he resign'd in *August* 1663, as he did *Chebbunt* in *October* 1672, upon being made Bishop of *Down and Connor*. Here Mr. TILLOTSON is said by his mild and gentle behaviour, and persuasive eloquence, to have prevail'd with an old *Oliverian* soldier, who preach'd among the *Anabaptists* in that town in a red coat, and was much follow'd, to desist from that, and betake himself to some other employment<sup>p</sup>.

The short distance of *Chebbunt* from *London* allowing him frequent opportunities of visiting his friends in that city, he was often invited into the pulpits there. Accordingly we find, that his sermon on *Eccles. xii. 1. On the advantages of early piety*, was preach'd at *St. Laurence Jewry* in 1662; on the 16th of *December* of which year he was elected Minister of the adjoining parish of *St. Mary Aldermanbury*, by the parishioners, in whom the right of choice is invested, upon the deprivation of Mr. EDMUND CALAMY, by the act of uniformity<sup>q</sup>. But Mr. TILLOTSON declin'd the acceptance of that living; which oblig'd them to proceed to a new choice of Mr. RICHARD MARTIN, on the 28th of *January* 1663.

But he did not continue long without the offer of another benefice, which he accepted, being presented in *June*, 1663, to the Rectory of *Ketton* or *Kedington*, in the County of *Suffolk*, worth 200 *l.* a year, vacated by the ejection of Mr. SAMUEL FAIRCLOUGH for Nonconformity, who had the satisfaction of being succeeded by a person of such eminent abilities, candour, and moderation<sup>r</sup>.

However,

<sup>p</sup> NEWCOURT Repertorium, vol. I. p. 325. <sup>q</sup> Life p. 7, 8.  
<sup>r</sup> KENNET'S Register and Chronicle, p. 843. <sup>s</sup> LE NEVE, p.



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However, his residence there was but short, being called to *London* by the society of *Lincoln's-Inn*, to be their preacher ; and the choice of him is said to have taken its rise from the following incident. Mr. ATKYNS, one of the Benchers of that Inn, and afterwards Lord Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, being present at the *Tuesday* lecture at *St. Laurence Jewry*, on a day when Mr. TILLOTSON happened to supply the place of the stated lecturer, was so pleas'd with his sermon, that he went to him in the vestry, and offer'd him his interest for the place of preacher of *Lincoln's-Inn*, which would be soon vacant. Mr. TILLOTSON was accordingly elected to that office on the 26th of *November* 1663, upon the terms allow'd his predecessor, of one hundred pounds payable at the end of every term, by equal portions ; the first payment to begin at the end of the next term ; and twenty-four pounds more for vacation commons ; with commons for himself and his servant in term-time, and a chamber. And five of the Masters of the Bench were appointed to acquaint him with his election, and to inform him of the duty expected from him, that he should preach twice every Lord's day in term-time, and next before and after term, and in reading time, and in every Lord's day in the vacation, and as other occasions should require ; and administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper, together with the chaplain of the house, every term and vacation ; and reside constantly in the society, without absenting himself thence, without the leave of the Masters of the Bench in council<sup>s</sup>.

His predecessors in this post had been generally men of the greatest eminence for learning ; and among these were Mr. THOMAS GATAKER, afterwards

223. Mr. SAMUEL CLARKE's lives of eminent men, p. 175. and Dr. CALAMY's account, p. 638.

<sup>s</sup> From the books of the society of *Lincoln's-Inn*.



wards Rector of *St. Mary Rotherith* in *Southwark*; Dr. JOHN DONNE, Dean of *St. Paul's*, whose *Pseudo-martyr*, the most valuable of his prose-writings, contains an unanswerable confutation of the Papal supremacy, and whose poetical works shew a prodigious fund of genius under the disguise of an affected and obscure style and a most inharmonious versification; and Archbishop USHER, who perform'd the office of preacher from 1647 till within a short time of his death, in *March* 165 $\frac{5}{8}$ . But of Mr. TILLOTSON's immediate predecessor, Mr. THOMAS GREENFIELD, educated in *Pembroke College* in *Oxford*, where he took the degree of master of arts on the 4th of *December* 1641<sup>t</sup>, I find nothing extant, except a sermon preach'd before the House of Commons on *Wednesday, June 12th*, 1661, appointed for a solemn humiliation upon the late abundance of rain, and the danger of famine and pestilence likely to ensue thereby; in which sermon he loudly complains of the neglect of the *loyal party*, as the sin, which had peculiarly brought down that judgment upon the nation; since there were, in his language, *strange and monstrous couples then marching together in England, loyalty and rags, loyalty and lice, loyalty and hunger, loyalty and a prison*. But this whole discourse is written so much in the bad taste of the preceding times, that the society of *Lincoln's-Inn* were considerable gainers in the exchange of Mr. GREENFIELD for Mr. TILLOTSON.

The invitation to that society was so agreeable to Mr. TILLOTSON, that he determin'd to settle himself intirely among them: and tho' in the intervals of the terms he could have given a large part of the year to his parish in *Suffolk*; yet so strict was he to the pastoral care in point of residence, that he resign'd that living, even when his income in *London* could scarce support him<sup>u</sup>. He was the more dispos'd

<sup>t</sup> Wood. Fasti Oxon. vol. II. col. 2. <sup>u</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 19.

pos'd to this from the strong prejudices of the people there in favour of a religious system, too prevalent in that age, but directly opposite to that more rational one of real and genuine Christianity, upon which he had form'd all his discourses to them : and soon discovering how little his preaching was relish'd there, he communicated to his patron his intention of quitting them upon that account. Sir THOMAS BARNARDISTON with great civility endeavour'd to persuade him, that he was mistaken in his suspicions ; but his Lady, more sincere, being desir'd to speak her mind, acknowledg'd, that neither herself, nor even Sir THOMAS, however he might affect to disguise his sentiments, were at all of a different opinion from the rest of the parish, who universally complain'd, that Jesus Christ had not been preach'd amongst them, since Mr. TILLOTSON had been settled in the parish. To this incident, which is very well attested, he seems clearly to allude in his sermon *against evil speaking*, preach'd near thirty years after, towards the close of which he has this passage :  
 “ I foresee what will be said, because I have heard it  
 “ so often said in the like case, that there *is not one*  
 “ *word of Jesus Christ in all this.* No more is there  
 “ in the text, [*Titus* iii. 2.] and yet I hope, that  
 “ Jesus Christ is truly preach'd, whenever his *will*,  
 “ and *laws*, and the *duties* enjoyn'd by the Christian  
 “ religion, are inculcated upon us.” And he was very early sensible of the disrelish in many persons of discourses of that kind ; since at the close of his sermon at *Cripplegate*, he caution'd his Audience not to reject or despise his exhortation to the practice of justice, under the contemptuous name of morality ; because our Saviour tells us, that this is a chief part of that, which hath ever been accounted religion in the world ; and he hath, by enjoining it, adopted it into Christianity, and made it Gospel ; and they, who would have a religion without moral righteousness,

ness, talk indiscreetly, and are farther from the kingdom of God than a mere moral man.

The reputation, which his preaching gain'd him in so conspicuous a station as that of *Lincoln's-Inn*, recommended him the year following to the trustees of the *Tuesday* lecture at *St. Lawrence Jewry*, founded by ELIZABETH Viscountess CAMDEN. And there he was commonly attended by a numerous audience, brought together from the remotest parts of the metropolis, and by a great concourse of the clergy, who came thither to form their minds \*.

Soon after his settlement at *Lincoln's-Inn*, his friendship with Dr. WILKINS was improv'd into an alliance, by the marriage of Mrs. ELIZABETH FRENCH, Daughter-in-law of the Doctor, and Daughter of PETER FRENCH, D. D.\* Canon of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, by ROBINA, Sister to OLIVER CROMWELL, remarried about the year 1656, to Dr. WILKINS, then Warden of *Wadham* College, who obtain'd a dispensation of the Statutes of that College for the marriage from the Protector, his Brother-in-law ; his interest with whom he chiefly made use of for the support of learning, and the protection of learned men in that University. Mr. TILLOTSON's marriage was solemniz'd on the 23d of *February* 1661, Dr. WILKINS performing the office in his own church of *St. Lawrence Jewry*. †

In the month following he was invited to preach before the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen at *St. Paul's*, which he did on *Job* xxviii, 28. and on the  
the

\* Funeral sermon, p. 19, 20. \* He was educated in *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity ; in which he was incorporated at *Oxford*, *December* 16, 1650 ; about which time he was made Canon of *Christ-Church*, by the favour of *Cromwell*, his Brother-in-law. [*Wood Fasti Oxon. vol. II. fol. 94.*] and on the 16th of *December* 1653, was created Doctor of Divinity at *Oxford*, by Diploma. He died *June* 17, 1655. † From the Register of *St. Laurence Jewry*.

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the 15th of that month was desired by them to print his sermon; for which purpose it had the *Imprimatur* of Dr. JOHN HALL, Chaplain to Dr. HUMPHRY HENCHMAN, Bishop of London, on the 13th of May 1664, as containing “ many things highly  
 “ useful for supporting the main foundation of religion, and confuting the prodigious vanity of  
 “ the atheists of that age.” *Plurima, quæ ad præcipuum religionis fundamentum tutandum, & ad prodigiosam atheorum hujus seculi vanitatem redarguendam egregiè sunt accommodata.* It was accordingly published in 1664, in 4to, under the title of, *The wisdom of being religious*, with a dedication to the Lord Mayor, Sir ANTHONY BATEMAN, and the Court of Aldermen; which not being reprinted in our author’s works, will be proper to be inserted here.  
 “ In obedience, says he, to your order, I here present you with a sermon, which you formerly  
 “ heard. I know not how acceptable discourses of this nature may be: I am sure they are very  
 “ seasonable in this degenerate age, in which *atheism* and *prophaneness* are grown so impudent, and,  
 “ notwithstanding the restraints of shame and laws,  
 “ do appear with so bold a face in the world.  
 “ When men arrive to that degree of confidence,  
 “ as to tell the world, that <sup>b</sup> the notion of a spirit  
 “ implies a contradiction: that fear and fancy are  
 “ the parents of a deity, and *ignorance* and *melancholy* the true causes of *devotion*; and that *religion*  
 “ is nothing else <sup>c</sup> but *the fear of invisible power*  
 “ feigned by the mind, or imagined from tales publicly allowed: When it shall be accounted brave  
 “ to defy God; and every dabbler in natural philosophy, or mathematics, or politics, shall set up  
 “ for an atheist: sure then it is high time to resist  
 “ this growing evil. To this purpose I have enlarged that part of the discourse, which is more  
 immedi-

<sup>b</sup> *Leviathan, part III. c. 34.*

<sup>c</sup> *Part I. c. 6.*



“ immediately levell’d against atheism, beyond  
“ what the limits of the time would allow me in  
“ the preaching of it ; and in hope, that it may do  
“ some service to that end, it is now humbly of  
“ fer’d to you.” This sermon in the original edi-  
tion contains no less than sixty-four pages in 4to,  
and it was afterwards enlarg’d and improv’d by the  
author in the manner, in which it now appears in the  
front of his works, and is, for the size of it, one of  
the most elegant, perspicuous, and convincing de-  
fences of religion in our own or any other lan-  
guage.

He saw now with deep regret the fatal corruption  
of that age, in which the hypocrisies and extrava-  
gances of the times preceding the Restoration, con-  
curring with the liberties and looseness of morals  
immediately following it, disposed many persons to  
impiety and atheism. This awaken’d his attention  
and zeal ; and having consider’d all the antient and  
modern apologies for the Christian religion, with an  
exactness, that became the importance of the sub-  
ject, he set the whole strength of his thoughts and  
studies to withstand the progress, which irreligion  
was making. In order to that he laboured particu-  
larly to deduce every thing from the clearest princi-  
ples, and to make all people feel the reasonableness  
of the truths, as well as of the precepts of the Chri-  
stian religion. When he saw, that popery was at  
the root of the growing contempt of religion, and  
that the design seem’d to be laid, to make men first  
*Atheists*, that they might be the more easily made  
*Papists*, and that many did not stick to own, that  
no certainty could be had of the Christian faith, un-  
less upon the basis of the infallibility of the church ;  
this gave him a deep and just indignation. It was  
such a betraying of the cause of God, rather than  
not to gain their own, that in this the foundation  
was laid of his great zeal against Popery. This drew  
his

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his studies for some years much that way. He looked on the whole system of Popery, as such a corruption of the intire design of Christianity, that he thought it was incumbent on him to set himself against it with the zeal and courage, suitable to that cause, and necessary for those times. He thought, that the idolatry and superstition of the church of *Rome* enervated true piety and morality; and that its cruelty was such a contradiction to the meekness of Christ, and to that love and charity, which our Lord made the character and distinction of his disciples and followers, that he resolv'd to sacrifice every thing, except a good conscience, in a cause, for which he had determin'd, if it should come to extremities, to become a sacrifice himself <sup>a</sup>.

His enemies soon saw how much he stood in their way, and were not wanting in the arts of calumny to disable him from opposing them with that eminent success, which his writings and sermons had on the nation. His life was too pure in all the parts of it, to give them a pretence to attack him in that respect. So regular a piety, such an unblemish'd probity, and so extensive and tender a charity, together with his great and constant labours both in private and public, rais'd him above reproach. And he was too generally known and esteem'd, for his enemies to venture upon the common arts of defaming; so that subtler methods were to be used, since his virtue was too exemplary to be blemish'd in the ordinary way. His endeavouring to make out every thing in religion from clear and plain principles, and with the fulness of demonstrative proof, was laid hold on to make him pass for one, who could believe nothing, that lay beyond the compass of human reason. And his tender method of treating with Dissenters, and his endeavours to unite all

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<sup>a</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 15, 16.

Protestants amongst themselves, were represented as a want of zeal in the cause of the church, and an inclination towards those, who departed from it. But how unhappily successful soever they might be in infusing these jealousies of him into some warm and unwary men, he still persever'd in his own way. He would neither depart from his moderation, nor take pains to cover himself from so false an imputation. He thought the openness of his temper, the course of his life, his sincerity, and the visible effects of his labours, which had contributed so much to turn the greatest part of the city to a hearty love of the church, and a firm adherence to the communion of it<sup>b</sup>, in which no man was ever more eminently distinguished than he was; he thought, that constant zeal, with which he had always served such as came to labour in the city, and by which he had been so singularly useful to them; he thought the great change, that had been made in bringing mens minds off from many wild opinions to sober and steady

<sup>b</sup> His success, and that of some of his friends in this respect, are confess'd by that rigid Independant and Calvinist LEWIS DU MOULIN, M. D. *Camdenian* Professor of History at Oxford by the appointment of the Parliament till the Restoration, who retracted in the presence of Dr. BURNET the virulence of his writings against the church of England at his death October 20, 1683. at the age of 77. He observes in his last tract, intituled, *An appeal of all the Nonconformists in England to GOD and all the Protestants, in order to manifest their sincerity in point of obedience to GOD and the King*, printed at London 1681, in 4to, that "several Bishops and Doctors of the church of England, as Dr. LLOYD, Dr. TILLOTSON, Dr. STILLINGFLEET, Dr. PATRICK, that are acknowledg'd by the Nonconformists to be persons of great learning, and worth, and piety, but who are extreme admirers of the Episcopacy of England, and all its consequences, and who have also preferred its government to all other establishments in Europe, have by an unlucky accident contributed more towards the reputation of the English hierarchy and its practices, and towards the perpetuating the feuds and quarrels between the Conformists and Nonconformists, than it had been possible for any other corrupted party to do by all their irregularities and advances towards Rome."

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steady principles, and that in so prudent a manner, that things were done without mens perceiving it, or being either startled or made uneasy by the peevishness, which is raised and kept up by contradiction or disputing, in which no man had a larger share than himself; all these reasons he thought would prevent his conduct from needing any apology.

His zeal against Popery, and apprehensions of the progress of it, having led him to examine the great question between the Protestants and church of *Rome* concerning the rule of faith, he drew up an answer to a treatise, which was boasted of by the professors of that church, as an impregnable defence of their cause, and intitled, *Sure footing in Christianity; or rational discourses on the rule of faith*, printed in 1664, in a large 8vo. The author of it was Mr. JOHN SARJEANT, whose real name was SMITH, a secular priest, born in *Lincolnshire* about the year 1621, and admitted of *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, in 1637, by the Masters and Seniors of which he was recommended to be Secretary to Dr. THOMAS MORTON, Bishop of *Durham*, in which employment he continued, till falling into doubts about his religion he went over to the English college of secular priests at *Lisbon* in *Portugal* in 1642, and was afterwards prefect of studies in that college; and in 1652 returning to *England*, was elected Secretary of the secular clergy, and employed in propagating his religion, and writing books in defence of it<sup>a</sup>, particularly against Dr. HAMMOND, Dr. BRAMHALL, Bishop of *Derry*, and Dr. THOMAS PEIRCE, afterwards Dean of *Sarum*. Mr. TILLOTSON's *Rule of Faith* was licens'd for the press by Dr. HUMPHREY HENCHMAN, Bishop of *London*, on the 27th of February 1668, and

<sup>a</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 16, 17, 18.

<sup>b</sup> Wood. Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 1068.



and printed at *London* 1666 in 8vo. He inscrib'd it in a prefatory epistle to his *honoured and learned friend* Mr. EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, afterwards Bishop of *Worcester*, whose *Rational account of the grounds of the Protestant religion*, printed in 1664, Mr. TILLOTSON had read with great satisfaction, and now return'd his thanks for it, not only as a private favour, but a public benefit. This excellent writer, who was known to the world before by his *Irenicum* published in 1659, and his *Origines sacre* in 1662, and was a native of *Cranborn* in *Dorsetshire*, where he was born *April* 17th, 1635, and educated at *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, having spent some years at his Rectory of *Sutton* in *Bedfordshire*, except in term-time, after he was appointed Chaplain to Sir HARBOTTLE GRIMSTON, Master of the Rolls, was now fixed in *London* in the Rectory of *St. Andrew Holborn*, to which he was presented in *January* 1664, by the Earl of *Southampton*, Lord-High-treasurer. His *Rational account* having likewise been attack'd by Mr. SARJEANT in his *third Appendix*, he wrote a *Reply*, in the form of a letter to Mr. TILLOTSON, dated at *London* *June* 28th, 1665, and printed as an *Appendix* to the *Rule of faith*. Mr. SARJEANT was not long silent with regard to Mr. TILLOTSON, but publish'd *A letter of thanks from the author of Sure footing to his answerer* Mr. J. T. said in the title-page to be printed at *Paris*, but really printed at *London* in 1666, in an octavo of 131 pages, dated *March* 7th. The year following also Mr. SARJEANT publish'd *Faith vindicated from possibility of falshood; or the immoveable firmness and certainty of the motives to Christian faith asserted against that tenet, which denying infallibility of authority subverts its foundation, and renders it uncertain.* This was printed at *London*, though pretended in the title-page to be at *Louvain*, and contains 175 pages in 8vo, besides a

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postscript of six pages. In this book Mr. SARJEANT having attack'd a passage in p. 31. of the first edition of Dr. TILLOTSON's sermon on the *Wisdom of being religious*, the Doctor replied to his exceptions to that sermon and to his *Rule of faith*, in the preface to the first volume of his sermons, printed in 1671 in 8vo, to which there was a rejoinder the year following, in a piece intitled *Reason against raillery; or a full answer to Dr. TILLOTSON's preface against J. SARJEANT*. There was drawn up also a *punctual answer* to his *Rule of faith* by Mr. JOHN AUSTEN, a gentleman of *Norfolk*, and a noted writer for the *Roman catholic church*, to which he was a convert, after having been educated in *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, which he quitted, as well as his religion, about the year 1640, entering himself into the society of *Lincoln's Inn*, till the breaking out of the civil wars forc'd him to abandon his country, to which he afterwards return'd, and died at his house in *Bow-street, Covent-Garden*, in the summer of the year 1669. His *punctual answer* was actually committed to the press, and six or seven sheets of it printed off; but the impresson was never finish'd<sup>e</sup>. Dr. HICKES endeavours to rob our great Divine of the reputation of being the author of the *Rule of faith*, pretending<sup>f</sup>, that some of Dr. TILLOTSON's friends had assured him, that he borrowed that book from the discourses of the learned Dr. ZACHARY CRADOCK, Provost of *Eton College*, who had design'd to answer Mr. SARJEANT's *Sure footing*. To this charge Bishop BURNET answers<sup>g</sup>, that though it is certain, that no person could converse with Dr. CRADOCK on any subject, but he might learn much from him, yet " I do " not, says he, believe he ever intended to answer " SARJEANT, or any other book whatsoever. I " am

<sup>e</sup> Id. *ibid.* col. 653.

<sup>g</sup> Reflections. p. 92, 93.

<sup>f</sup> Some discourses, p. 46.

" am sure it is not very like him. Our Primate  
" had a stock of his own, and needed to borrow  
" from no body."

His love of learning, and zeal for the promotion of the study of the Scriptures, made him one of the earliest encouragers of that useful and elaborate work, the *Synopsis criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturae interpretum*, undertaken and executed by Mr. MATTHEW POOL. The author had first given the world a specimen of his design, with a recommendation of it by many of the greatest names in the church at that time, and among them that of Dr. TILLOTSON, who had taken that degree in divinity in 1666; and he, together with Dr. PATRICK, Dr. STILLINGFLEET, and some others, had the trust and management of the monies subscrib'd for the publication of the *Synopsis*<sup>a</sup>. His Majesty having granted a patent to Mr. POOL on the 4th of October 1667. for the privilege of printing his work, the two first volumes were published at London in folio, in 1669, and three more afterwards. This learned man, whose abilities and piety intitled him to the great share, which he had in Dr. TILLOTSON's friendship, was born in York, and son of FRANCIS POOL, Esq; and descended of an antient family of that name at *Sprinkbill* in *Derbyshire*. His education was in *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, under Dr. JOHN WORTHINGTON, where he took the degree of Master of arts<sup>i</sup>, in which he was incorporated at *Oxford* in June 1657<sup>k</sup>. He was at the head of a scheme, form'd and completed by him, for maintaining young men of eminent parts at the university of *Cambridge*, for the study of Divinity, having by his solicitations in a short time rais'd 900 l. a year for that purpose; and to

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this

<sup>a</sup> Vide Præfat. *Synops. criticor.* p. vi, vii.

<sup>i</sup> Dr. CALAMY's Account, p. 14.

<sup>k</sup> WOOD. *Fasti Oxon.* vol. II. col. 118.

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this scheme, which sunk at the restoration, the world is said in some measure to owe Dr. SHERLOCK, afterwards Dean of *St. Paul's*. Mr. POOL lost his Rectory of *St. Michael le Quern* in *London* by the act of uniformity in 1662; and retiring at last to *Holland* for the free exercise of his religion, died at *Amsterdam* in *October* 1679<sup>1</sup>. Besides his *Synopsis*, which was the product of ten years indefatigable industry, he publish'd *English annotations on the holy scriptures*, in which he proceeded no farther than the 58th chapter of *Isaiab*, being prevented by death; and several other books both in practical and controversial divinity.

The high reputation of Dr. JOHN WILKINS, and the interest of VILLIERS Duke of *Buckingham*, having at last, notwithstanding the opposition of Archbishop SHELTON, and other great men of the church, induc'd the King to advance him to a Bishopric, Dr. TILLOTSON was desir'd to preach the sermon on *Sunday* the 15th of *November* 1668, in the chapel in *Ely* house, at his consecration to the Bishopric of *Chester*, vacant by the death of Dr. GEORGE HALL, on the 23d of *August* preceding, of a wound received by a knife in his pocket, in a fall from the mount in his garden <sup>m</sup> at the rectory house at *Wigan*.

The natural modesty of Dr. TILLOTSON, and his averfeness to solicitation for himself, did not prevent his merit from having justice done it by the interest, which it gain'd him even at court, as well as in the city. For upon the promotion of Dr. PETER GUNNING to the Bishopric of *Chichester* in *February* 1667<sup>2</sup>, in the room of Dr. HENRY KING, he was preferr'd by the King to the Prebend of the second stall in the cathedral of *Canterbury*, which had been held by the

<sup>1</sup> D. CALAMY, *ubi supra*.  
affairs, in the possession of the right honourable THOMAS Lord Viscount WEYMOUTH.

<sup>m</sup> MS. Diary of public



the new Bishop; and was admitted to it on the 14th of *March*. He kept this Prebend till he was advanc'd to the Deanry of that church in *October* 1672, in the room of Dr. THOMAS TURNER, who died on the 8th of that month, at a very advanc'd age, having been domestic Chaplain to Archbishop LAUD, and to King CHARLES I. by the latter of whom he was made Canon-residentiary of *St. Paul's*, and Dean of *Rochester* in *February* 164½, which he exchanged the year following for that of *Canterbury*. Dr. TILLOTSON was succeeded in his Prebend of *Canterbury* by Dr. SAMUEL PARKER, afterwards Bishop of *Oxford*, and then domestic Chaplain to Archbishop SHELDON, by whom he was colated to it.

Nor was *Canterbury* the only cathedral, in which Dr. TILLOTSON was preferr'd; for on the 18th of *December* 1675. he was presented to the Prebend of *Ealdland* in that of *St. Paul's, London*, which he resign'd for that of *Oxgate*, and a Residentiaryship in the same church on the 14th of *February* 1677-8. This last preferment was obtained for him by the interest of his friend Dr. JOHN SHARP, afterwards Archbishop of *York*, with HENEAGE Lord FINCH, Lord High-Chancellor, to whom Dr. SHARP had been domestic Chaplain above ten years before, having liv'd with that nobleman while he was only Attorney-General, his Lordship, after he was possess'd of the Great-Seal, devolving on him the province of enquiring into the characters of those Divines, who were candidates for preferment°. The friendship between the Dean and Dr. SHARP was occasioned by an accidental meeting upon this occasion:

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° Letter to me from the Rev. and learned Dr. THOMAS SHARP Archdeacon of *Northumbeyland*, son of Archbishop SHARP, and godson of Archbishop TILLOTSON, dated *November* 7, 1751. ° Life of GEORGE BULL Bishop of *St. David's*: by ROBERT NELSON, Esq; p. 278, 279. 2d edit. *London*, 1714.

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sion: Mr. JOSHUA TILLOTSON, the Dean's brother, was a wet and dry-salter, or oilman in *London*, of which trade was the Doctor's father, Mr. THOMAS SHARP, at *Bradford* in *Yorkshire*. The Doctor returning from thence into Sir HENEAGE FINCH's family, with a bill drawn on Mr. JOSHUA TILLOTSON, happened to meet at his house Dr. TILLOTSON, who finding Mr. SHARP to be his countryman, and a young clergyman setting out into the world, being above fourteen years younger than himself, with his usual goodness and civility took particular notice of him, and after some conversation gave Mr. SHARP leave to come freely to his house, whenever he pleas'd, and to have recourse to him as often as he thought it might be servicable to him. Mr. SHARP judg'd this a most fortunate interview, and himself extremely happy in so valuable an acquaintance, and ever after spoke with pleasure of this incident. And this was the foundation of a firm and lasting friendship between them, improv'd by an intimate acquaintance for many years, and cemented by repeated acts of mutual good offices <sup>p</sup>.

The Dean of *Canterbury* had now been some years Chaplain to King CHARLES II. tho' his Majesty had no kindness for him, according to the suggestion of Bishop BURNET <sup>q</sup>, admitted by Dr. HICKES <sup>r</sup>. But to whomsoever he owed his preferments, which can only be consider'd as the just rewards of his extraordinary merits, they had no other effect upon him, than to enlarge his capacity of doing good. He neither slackened his labours, nor advanced his fortunes by them. He did not content himself with such a residence, as answered the statute, considering his obligations to attend the court; but gave as much of his time and labours to his cathedral, as could agree with his other obligations <sup>s</sup>.

His

<sup>p</sup> Letter of Archdeacon SHARP. <sup>q</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 20, 21.

<sup>r</sup> Some discourses, p. 63, 64. <sup>s</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 20, 21.

His zeal against Popery, as the grand corruption and reproach of the most excellent religion, that ever appeared in the world, was not at all abated by any favours, which he had already receiv'd, or might expect, from a court too justly suspected of favouring the principles of the church of *Rome*, as a means of establishing an absolute despotic government. And he exerted this zeal upon all proper occasions, especially when there appeared any immediate danger of the progress of those principles. The confutation of them was a frequent subject of his discourses from the pulpit at *Whitehall*, where it was most seasonable, tho' least relish'd. For his sermon on *The hazard of being sav'd in the church of Rome*, upon 1 Cor. iii. 15. preach'd in the beginning of the year 1672, gave such offence to the Duke of York, who had till that time concealed his reconciliation to the church of *Rome*, and frequented the royal chapel, that he discontinued his attendance there ever after. The publication of the sermon is said likewise to have been forbid; but a nobleman having borrowed a copy of it from the Dean, it was printed privately without his knowledge in 1673. The dread of Popery was indeed heighten'd by his Majesty's own conduct, in publishing on the 15th of *March* 1673, a declaration for liberty of conscience, by an extraordinary act of power, abrogating several acts of parliament, or at least suspending the execution of them, and this evidently with a view of indulgence to the papists. The Bishops therefore in general, and particularly Dr. HUMPHREY HENCHMAN Bishop of *London*, being alarm'd at this, charged their clergy to preach against Popery. But the King complaining to Archbishop SHELDON of this, as done on purpose to inflame the people, and alienate them from himself and his government, that prelate called together some of the clergy, to consider what he should say to his Majesty, if he

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press'd him any farther on that head; when Dr. TILLOTSON, who was one of these, suggested this answer, That since his Majesty profess'd the Protestant religion, it would be a thing without precedent, that he should forbid his clergy to preach in defence of a religion, which they believed, while he declar'd himself of it. However there was no occasion for that or any other answer, his Majesty never renewing the motion<sup>s</sup>.

But the Dean's concern for the essence of pure and uncorrupted Christianity was attended with a proportionable moderation of temper and principles with respect to the lesser differences amongst Protestants, and especially those of our own country. Hence followed a constant desire in him of a more intimate union of them, not only on account of the general advantage of it, but likewise of the particular one of forming a stronger barrier against the perpetual encroachments of the See of *Rome*. He joined therefore with Dr. STILLINGFLEET, and Mr. HEZEKIAH BURTON, in the treaty proposed by Sir ORLANDO BRIDGMAN, Lord-keeper of the Great-seal, about *January 1667*, and countenanced by the Lord-chief-baron HALE, for a comprehension of such of the Dissenters, as could be brought into the communion of the church, and for a toleration of the rest. Dr. BATES, Dr. MANTON, and Mr. BAXTER being called for on the side of the Presbyterians, a project was prepared, consisting chiefly of those things, which the King had promised by his declaration from *Breda* in the year 1660. Only in the point of re-ordination this temper was proposed, that those, who had Presbyterian ordination, should be received to serve in the church by an imposition of hands of the Bishop, with this or the like form of words: *Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the sacraments in any*  
con-

<sup>s</sup> BURNET'S History of his own time, vol. I. p. 309.



congregation of the church of England, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto; an expedient much of that nature having been practised and allowed of in the case of the Catharists and Meletians, as appears from the 8th canon of the *Nicene* council, and the synodical epistle of that council to the churches of *Egypt*. But this treaty becoming the subject of common discourse, a clamour was raised, especially by the friends of the Earl of CLARENDON, disgrac'd in *August* 1667, and now in banishment, that the church was undermin'd and betray'd; and when a bill, drawn up by Lord-chief-baron HALE, was to be presented to the parliament, a resolution passed against admitting any bill of that nature". A second attempt was made in 1674, when the Dean, in conjunction with Dr. STILLINGFLEET, desired a meeting with the principal of the Nonconformists, Dr. WILLIAM BATES, Dr. THOMAS MANTON, Mr. MATTHEW POOL, and Mr. BAXTER, in order to an accommodation; for which these two Divines declar'd they had the encouragement of several Lords, both spiritual and temporal. They were at first met by Mr. BAXTER alone; with whom having consider'd and canvass'd various draughts, they at length fix'd on one, in which they agreed. This being communicated to the Nonconformists, proved satisfactory to them; but the Bishops refusing to assent to many particulars in it, the treaty was soon at an end. Mr. BAXTER sent to Dr. TILLOTSON, to know, whether he might have leave to speak of it, in order to the promoting concord; and to signify how far they were agreed, that their names might be some advantage to the work; upon which the Doctor returned him an answer on the 11th of *April* 1675. in which he informed him, that he had taken the

\* Id. *ibid.* p. 259.    " BURNET's Life of Sir MATTHEW HALE, p. 42, 43. and CALAMY's abridgment of Mr. BAXTER's history of his life and times, p. 317—322. 2d edit.

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the first opportunity to speak to the Bishop of *Sarum*<sup>\*</sup>, who promis'd to keep the matter private, and only to acquaint the Bishop of *Chester*<sup>†</sup> with it, in order to a meeting. But that upon some general discourse he plainly perceiv'd that several things could not be obtain'd. That however the Bishop of *Sarum* had promis'd to appoint a time of meeting; but that he had not heard from his Lordship since. That for his own part he was unwilling, that his name should be us'd in this matter; not but that he did most heartily desire an accommodation, and should always endeavour it. But that he was sure it would be a prejudice to him, and signify nothing to the effecting of the thing, which, as circumstances were, could not pass in either house without the concurrence of a considerable part of the Bishops, and the countenance of his Majesty, which for the present he saw little reason to expect<sup>‡</sup>.

Dr. WILKINS, Bishop of *Chester*, dying of the stone at the Dean of *Canterbury*'s house in *Chancery-lane*, on the 19th of *November* 1672, by his last will committed his papers to the Dean's care, leaving it wholly to his disposal, whether any, or what part of them, should be made public. The Dean knowing, that *the Bishop's principles of natural religion* had been always design'd by him for that purpose, thought it a justice to the world to publish that treatise, tho' a considerable part of it wanted the author's last hand, the first twelve chapters only being transcrib'd by him for the press. He therefore finish'd the remainder out of the Bishop's papers; and tho' he warns the reader not to expect, that the work should be of equal strength and beauty in all the parts of it; yet the skill of the compiler was probably a full equivalent for the want of the finishing strokes of the original writer.

He

<sup>\*</sup> D. SETH WARD.

<sup>†</sup> Dr. JOHN PEARSON.

<sup>‡</sup> Dr. CALAMY's Abridgment, p. 343.

He publish'd it in 1675 in 8vo, with an excellent preface concerning the design of it: the first branch of which is the establishing the great principles of religion, the *being of a God*, and a *future state*, by shewing how firm and solid a foundation they have in the nature and reason of mankind; a work never more necessary, than in that degenerate age, so miserably overrun with scepticism and infidelity. The next point in view was to convince men of the natural and indispensable obligation of *moral duties*, comprehended by our Saviour under the two general heads of *love of God and our neighbour*. For all the great duties of *piety* and *justice* are written upon our hearts, and every man feels a secret obligation to them in his own conscience, which checks and restrains him from acting contrary to them, and gives him peace and satisfaction in the discharge of his duty; or, in case he offend against it, fills him with guilt and terror. And certainly it is a thing of very considerable use, rightly to understand the natural obligation of moral duties, and how necessarily they flow from the consideration of God and of *ourselves*. For it is a great mistake to think, that the obligation of them depends solely upon the revelation of God's will made to us in the holy scriptures. It is plain, that mankind was always under a law, even before God had made any external and extraordinary revelation: else, how shall God judge the world? how shall they, to whom the word of God never came, be acquitted or condemn'd at the great day? For *where there is no law*, there can be neither *obedience* nor *transgression*. "It is indeed, *adds the Dean*, an unspeakable advantage, which we, who are Christians, do enjoy, both in respect of the more clear and certain knowledge of our duty in all the branches of it, and likewise in regard of the powerful motives and assistance, which our blessed Saviour in his gospel offers to us, to enable

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“ enable and encourage us to the discharge of our  
 “ duty. But yet it is nevertheless very useful for us to  
 “ consider the primary and natural obligation to  
 “ piety and virtue, which we commonly call the  
 “ *law of nature* ; this being every whit as much the  
 “ *law of God*, as the revelation of his will in his  
 “ word ; and consequently nothing contained in the  
 “ word of God, or in any pretended revelation  
 “ from him, can be interpreted to dissolve the  
 “ obligation of moral duties plainly required by  
 “ the law of nature. And if this one thing were  
 “ but well considered, it would be an effectual  
 “ antidote against the pernicious doctrines of the  
 “ *Antinomians*, and of all other *Libertines* whatso-  
 “ ever ; nothing being more incredible, than that  
 “ *divine revelation* should contradict the clear and  
 “ unquestionable dictates of *natural light* ; nor any  
 “ thing more vain than to fancy, that the *grace of*  
 “ *God* does release men from the law of nature.”

This Bishop WILKINS was very sensible of, and wisely saw, of what consequence it was to establish the principles and duties of religion upon their true and natural foundation ; which is so far from being a prejudice to divine revelation, that it prepares the way for it, and gives it greater advantage and authority over the minds of men. The *third* point of his design was to persuade men to the practice of religion, and the virtues of a good life, by shewing how natural and direct an influence they have, not only upon our future blessedness in another world, but even upon the happiness and prosperity of this present life. “ And surely, concludes the Dean,  
 “ nothing is more likely to prevail with wise and  
 “ considerate men to become religious, than to be  
 “ thoroughly convinced, that *religion* and *happiness*,  
 “ our *duty* and our *interest*, are really but one and  
 “ the same thing considered under several no-  
 “ tions.”



The year 1676 deprived the Dean of one of his most valuable friends, Sir MATTHEW HALE, who after having filled the place of one of the Justices of the Common-pleas under the protector CROMWELL, and during the several changes of government till the restoration, and after that of Lord-chief-baron of the Exchequer, and Lord-chief-justice of the King's-bench, had resigned the last post on account of his age and infirmities on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *February* 167 $\frac{5}{6}$ , and died on the *Christmas*-day following in the 68th year of his age, with the highest reputation for integrity, and abilities in his profession, in which his writings have raised him a character equal to his greatest predecessors, and will always be esteemed as containing the best rationale of the grounds of the law of *England*. Nor was he an inconsiderable master of polite, philosophical, and especially theological learning, however underrated in these respects by a late writer<sup>a</sup>, evidently biass'd by party prejudices; his treatise upon the *Origination of mankind* shewing a great force of reasoning, and an equal compass of knowledge. This work, designed to evince the creation of the world, and the truth of the Mosaical history, was part of a larger confutation of Atheism, and proof of Christianity: which, as soon as finished, he sent by an unknown hand to Bishop WILKINS for his judgment, but with no other account of the writer, than that he was not a clergyman. The Bishop and Dr. TILLOTSON having read a great deal of it with much satisfaction, were absolutely at a loss in their conjectures about the author; and how a person furnish'd with such talents of reasoning, and such a variety of learning, should be so unknown to them, that they could not find him out by these characters, which are so little common. At last Dr. TILLOT-

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<sup>a</sup>Life of the Lord-Keeper NORTH, by ROGER NORTH, Esq;  
p. 63.

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son fixing upon the Lord Chief Baron HALE, the Bishop immediately agreed to his opinion, wondering that himself had been so long in finding it out. Upon which they both went to him ; and the Bishop thanking him for the entertainment, which he had received from his manuscript, he blushed extremely, not without some displeasure, apprehending that the person, whom he had trusted, had discovered him. But the Bishop soon cleared that point, and told him, that he had discovered himself ; for the learning of that book was so various, that none but he could be the author of it. And that prelate having a freedom in delivering his opinion of things and persons, which perhaps few ever managed with so much plainness and prudence, told him, that nothing could be better said on the subject, if he could bring it into a less compass ; but if he had not leisure for that, he thought it much better to have the book come out, though a little too large, than that the world should be deprived of the advantage of it. But tho' his Lordship had never the opportunity of revising it ; yet a little before his death he sent the first part of it to the press<sup>a</sup>.

The Dean's eminence of character, as well as the personal obligations of the writer, produced a dedication to him in 1677, of *A brief discourse upon the offices of baptism, catechism, and confirmation*, by THOMAS COMBER M. A. afterwards Doctor of divinity, and Præcentor of *York*, and promoted to the Deanry of *Durham* in *April* 1691, which he enjoy'd to his death on the 25th of *November* 1699, in the 55th year of his age. Mr. COMBER begins his dedication by observing, that he did not imagine, that he should discharge those obligations, which the Dean's goodness had laid upon him, but rather increase them, by presenting those little tracts to him :  
“ For

<sup>a</sup> Life of Sir MATTHEW HALE, by Dr. BURNET, p. 49. 52. edit. 1682.

“ For it will, *says he*, contribute to their reputation  
 “ to be usher’d in with so worthy a name, and add  
 “ to their author’s character to be reckon’d among  
 “ the number of your friends. So that if this tender  
 “ be accepted but as the testimony of my gratitude,  
 “ I shall confess myself to be your debtor still . . . .  
 “ I hope they are so done, that they may be ho-  
 “ noured with your approbation, as well as your  
 “ name ; for then they will be effectually recom-  
 “ mended to all the judicious, and raised above the  
 “ censures of the less deserving.”

The rise of his interest with the Prince and Princess of ORANGE, with the consequence of it in his advancement to the See of *Canterbury*, has been ascribed to an incident, which is supposed to have happened in the year 1677, and is thus represented by one of our historians<sup>a</sup>, as drawn from a manuscript account taken from Archbishop TILLOTSON’s own mouth : That the match between that Prince and Princess being made upon political views against the will of the Duke of YORK, and not with the hearty liking of the King, the *country party*, as they were then call’d, were exceedingly pleas’d and elevated ; and after the Lord Mayor’s feast<sup>b</sup> a secret design was laid to invite the new-married couple into the city to a public and solemn entertainment to be made for them. To prevent this, the court hurried both the bridegroom and bride, as fast as they could, out of town ; so that they departed with such precipitation, that they had scarce time to make any provision for their journey. Their servants and baggage went by way of *Harwich*, but the Prince and Princess by *Canterbury* road, where they were to lie till the wind was fair, and the yatch ready to sail with them. Being arrived at *Canterbury*, they repaired to an inn ; and no good care being taken in

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their

<sup>a</sup> RICHARD’S History of *England*, appendix, p 11.

<sup>b</sup> October 29.

their haste to separate what was needful for their journey, they came very meanly provided thither. Monsieur BENTINCK, who attended them, endeavoured to borrow some plate and money of the corporation for their accommodation; but upon grave deliberation the Mayor and body proved to be really afraid to lend them either. Dr. TILLOTSON, Dean of *Canterbury*, at that time in residence there, hearing of this, immediately got together all his own plate, and other, that he borrowed, together with a good number of guineas, and all other necessities for them, and went directly to the inn to Mons. BENTINCK, and offer'd him all that he had got; and withal complain'd, that they did not come to the Deanry, where the royal family used to lodge, and heartily invited them still to go thither, where they might be sure of a better accommodation. This last they declin'd, but the money, plate, and the rest were highly acceptable to them. Upon this the Dean was carried to wait upon the Prince and Princess; and his great interest soon brought others to attend upon them. "By this lucky accident, *adds the account*, he began that acquaintance and the correspondence with the Prince and Mons. BENTINCK, which yearly increas'd to the very revolution, when both Mons. BENTINCK had great occasion for him and his friends on his account, as well as the Prince himself, when he arriv'd at the crown. And this was the true secret ground, on which the Bishop of *London* (whose quality and services seem'd to intitle him without a rival to the Archbishopric) was yet set aside, and Dr. TILLOTSON advanc'd over his head." But this solemn and circumstantial story, when examin'd, will be found liable to great exceptions: for, not to anticipate what will in the course of this life be produc'd from unquestionable evidence concerning the true causes and circumstances of our Dean's advancement to the Arch-



Archbishopric, it will be sufficient at present to point out some mistakes in the other parts of the narrative cited by the historian. For the Prince and Princess of ORANGE were far from *being hurried out of town* after the Lord Mayor's feast on the 29th of *October* 1677, or their own marriage, which was perform'd by Dr. HENRY COMPTON, Bishop of *London*, who claim'd that office, at *St. James's*, in the presence of the King, and Duke and Duchess of YORK, and some of the chief nobility, on *Sunday November* the 4th, being the birth-day of the Prince of ORANGE<sup>c</sup>; for the new-married couple did not leave *Whitehall* till *Monday* morning the 19th of that month. And instead of taking the road to *Canterbury*, *where they were to lie, till the wind was fair, and the yacht ready to sail with them*, they were accompanied by his Majesty and the Duke of YORK as far as *Eritb*, where the Prince and Princess went on board the yachts appointed to convey them to *Holland*<sup>d</sup>. Being detain'd at *Sheerness* by contrary winds, the King sent an express to them to return to *London*; and they went ashore there, lodging at the house of Col. DORREL the governor; and the next day, being *Friday* the 23d of *November*, went from thence to *Canterbury*, the Prince taking with him Monsieur BENTINCK, Monsieur ODYCK, and Count HORN, and the Princess being attended thither by the Countess of INCHQUIN, and one of her dressers. During their stay at *Canterbury* the Prince was complimented by all the gentlemen of the country, and presented by them with abundance of provisions of all sorts for his table; and on *Sunday* he went to the cathedral, where he heard the whole divine service and a

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sermon.

<sup>c</sup> M S. Diary of public transactions, in the possession of the Right Honourable THOMAS Lord Viscount WEYMOUTH, and Gazette, N<sup>o</sup> 1249. from *Monday November* 5. to *Thursday, November* 8. 1677.

<sup>d</sup> Gazette, N<sup>o</sup> 1253. from *Monday, November* 19, to *Thursday, November* 22. 1677. and M S. Diary.

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sermon<sup>e</sup>. The other circumstances of what is affirm'd to have pass'd at their arrival at *Canterbury* in respect to the want of necessaries, and the corporation's refusal to supply them, and the Dean's assistance, which would never be wanting upon such occasion, must be left upon the authority of Mr. ECHARD's narrative. The Prince and Princess departed from that city on *Monday* morning, *November 26*, and went that night on board the *Montagu*, commanded by Sir JOHN HOLMES, in *Margate Road*, who on *Wednesday* the 28th set sail, and landed them in *Holland* the next day<sup>f</sup>.

The high esteem, which that inexhaustible genius Dr. ISAAC BARROW, Master of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, had for our Dean, induced him to leave his manuscripts to the care of a friend so capable of bringing them into the world with all possible advantage. And having during his last illness, and not long before his death, which happen'd on the fourth of *May 1677*, given him a particular permission to print his *Treatise of the Pope's supremacy*, the Dean accordingly prepared it for the press, and published it in 1680 at *London* in Quarto, with a preface; in which he observes, that whoever shall carefully peruse that discourse, will find, that this point of the Pope's supremacy (upon which BELLARMIN hath the confidence to say *the whole of Christianity depends*) is not only an indefensible, but as impudent a cause, as ever was undertaken by learned pens. "And nothing, adds the Dean, could have kept it so long from being ridiculous in the judgment of mankind, but its being so strongly supported by a worldly interest. For there is not one tolerable argument for it; and there are a thousand invincible reasons against it." To this discourse he added another of Dr. BARROW, concerning the unity of the church, in which the Doctor so explains it, as quite

<sup>e</sup> MS. Diary.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

quite to take away the necessity of a visible head over the whole church for the preservation of its unity; "which is, says Dr. TILLOTSON, the only "specious, but yet a very remote pretence for the "Pope's supremacy: for if a visible monarch of the "church were granted necessary, many things must "be supposed (which neither yet are, nor ever can "be proved) to make the Bishop of Rome the "man."

The sudden death of his second brother, Mr. JOSHUA TILLOTSON, by a vomiting of blood, on the 16th of *September* 1678, affected him in a very sensible manner; and being unwilling to shock his father, then at his house at *Sowerby*, with the abrupt communication of it, wrote the same day to his kinsman Mr. TIMOTHY BENTLEY, desiring him to acquaint him with the loss of his son, and to intreat him "to bear it with patience, and submission to "the will of GOD, and to comfort himself, as I, "says he, desire to do, with the hope of meeting "and enjoying him in a better life<sup>1</sup>."

About this time he succeeded in his endeavours to serve Mr. GEORGE BULL, afterwards Bishop of *St. David's*, then only Rector of *Siddington St. Mary*, and Vicar of *Siddington St. Peter*, near *Cirencester* in *Gloucestershire*, though known to the public by his *Harmonia Apostolica*, publish'd in 1669, and his *Examen Censuræ* in 1676. For he procured a Prebend of *Gloucester* for Mr. BULL<sup>m</sup>, who was installed into it on the 9th of *October* 1678, from the Lord-chancellor FINCH, afterwards Earl of *Nottingham*, who gave the same year another instance of his regard for learning, by preferring in that cathed-

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dral

<sup>1</sup> Original letter of the Dean, dated at *London*, *September* 16, 1678, communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. JOSHUA TILLOTSON, surmaster of *St. Paul's* school. <sup>m</sup> WOOD. *Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 954.* Mr. NELSON in his life of Bishop BULL, p. 276—280. mentions nothing of the Dean of *Canterbury's* endeavours in obtaining that Prebend for him.

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dral Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH, whose *Intellectual system of the universe* has raised him a reputation, to which nothing can add, but the publication of his other writings still extant in manuscript<sup>n</sup>.

The discovery of the Popish plot in *Sept.* 1678, of which the reality, or at least extent, has been since treated as one of the greatest problems in history, having given great alarm to the Parliament, which met on the 21st of *October*, a few days after the murder of Sir EDMUNDBURY GODFREY, the Dean was appointed to preach before the House of Commons on the 5th of *November* following. His text was *Luke ix.* 55, 56. and the design of his discourse is to shew, that a revengeful, and cruel, and destructive spirit is directly contrary to the design and temper of the gospel, and not to be excused upon any pretence of zeal for God and religion. In the conclusion he makes an application of that doctrine to the occasion of the day, by exposing the principles and practices of the church of *Rome*, and particularly in the Gun-powder treason plot, avow'd by the authors of it, who expressed a concern for its ill success, as appeared by the original papers and letters of Sir EVERARD DIGBY<sup>o</sup>, then in the Dean's hands. He willingly acknowledges the great piety and charity of several persons, who had lived and died in the communion of that church, as ERASMUS, Father PAUL, THUANUS, and many others, " who had, *says he*, in truth more goodness " than the principles of that religion do either incline " men to, or allow of." He declares, that it was not his intention to exasperate the House of Commons to any *unreasonable* or *unnecessary*, much less *unchristian* severities against the Papists. " No, " *adds*

<sup>n</sup> See the titles of them in the *life of Dr. CUDWORTH*, prefix'd to the second edit. of his *Intellect. System*, London, 1743, in 4to. p. xix, xx.

<sup>o</sup> They were publish'd by Dr. THOMAS BARLOW, Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the appendix to a book, printed in 1679, in 8vo. intitled. *The Gun-powder Treason*.



“ *adds he*, let us not do like them. Let us never  
 “ do any thing for religion, that is contrary to it.  
 “ But I speak it to awake your care thus far, that  
 “ if their priests will always be putting these pernicious  
 “ principles into the minds of the people, effectual  
 “ provision may be made, that it may never  
 “ be in their power again to put them in practice.”

He then touches upon the late discovery of the plot, and the *treacherous murder* of Sir EDMUNDBURY GODFREY, a very good man, and a most excellent magistrate, who had been active in that discovery. He closes with alledging, that if he had been transported by this subject somewhat beyond his usual temper, the occasion of that day, and the circumstances of the time would, he hop’d, bear him out. “ I can  
 “ truly say, *continues he*, as the Roman orator did  
 “ of himself upon another occasion, *mea natura*  
 “ *misericordem, patria severum ; crudelem nec patria*  
 “ *nec natura esse voluit.* My nature inclines me to  
 “ be tender and compassionate. A hearty zeal for  
 “ our religion, and concernment for the public  
 “ welfare of my country, may perhaps have made  
 “ me a little severe : but neither my natural disposition,  
 “ nor the temper of the *English* nation, nor  
 “ the genius of the Protestant, that is, the true Christian  
 “ religion, will allow me to be cruel.”

He had not long after this an occasion to improve these considerations concerning the nature and tendency of Popery, to the disengaging a young nobleman of great parts from the profession of it, in which he had been educated. This was CHARLES, Earl of *Sbrewsbury*, created a Duke by King WILLIAM, to whom he was twice Secretary of State, having had a considerable share in the revolution ; and in the latter end of whose reign he retir’d to *Italy* for his health, where he continu’d till about the year 1706 or 1707, when he return’d to *England*, and join’d the new ministry ; notwithstanding which he

was again made Lord-Chamberlain to King GEORGE I. as he had been to Queen ANNE, and died on the first of *February* 171<sup>2</sup><sub>5</sub>. His Lordship was led into an inquiry into his first religion by the discovery of the Popish plot; and was soon made sensible of its errors and corruptions by so thorough a master of that subject as the Dean of *Canterbury*, whom he attended for the first time at the public worship in *Lincoln's-Inn Chapel*, on *Sunday* the 4th of *May* 1679<sup>9</sup>. The Dean's concern for the Earl induc'd him afterwards, upon being inform'd of his Lordship's being engag'd in a conversation, which might prove dangerous to his virtue, as well as to his character, to write to him the following letter, which is a master-piece for the elegance and politeness, as well as force and pathos of the remonstrance.

“ MY LORD,

“ I T was a great satisfaction to me to be any ways  
 “ instrumental in the gaining your Lordship to  
 “ our religion, which I am really perswaded to be  
 “ the truth. But I am, and always was more concern'd,  
 “ that your Lordship would continue a virtuous and good man,  
 “ than become a Protestant, being assured, that the  
 “ ignorance and errors of mens understanding will find a much  
 “ easier forgiveness with God, than the faults of the will. I  
 “ remember, that your Lordship once told me, that  
 “ you would endeavour to justify the sincerity of  
 “ your change by a conscientious regard to all other  
 “ parts and actions of your life. I am sure you  
 “ cannot more effectually condemn your own act,  
 “ than by being a worse man after your profession  
 “ to have embrac'd a better religion. I will certainly  
 “ be one of the last to believe any thing of your  
 “ Lord-

MS. Diary of public transactions, in the possession of the right honourable THOMAS Lord Viscount WEYMOUTH.

“ Lordship, that is not good ; but I always feared,  
“ I should be one of the first that should hear it.  
“ The time I last waited upon your Lordship, I had  
“ heard something, that afflicted me very sensibly ;  
“ but I hoped it was not true, and was therefore  
“ loth to trouble your Lordship about it. But hav-  
“ ing heard the same from those, who, I believe,  
“ bear no ill-will to your Lordship, I now think it  
“ my duty to acquaint you with it. To speak plain-  
“ ly, I have been told, that your Lordship is of  
“ late fallen into a conversation dangerous both to  
“ your reputation and virtue, two of the tenderest  
“ and dearest things in the world. I believe your  
“ Lordship to have a great command and conduct  
“ of yourself ; but I am very sensible of human  
“ frailty, and of the dangerous temptations, to  
“ which youth is exposed in this dissolute age.  
“ Therefore I earnestly beseech your Lordship to  
“ consider, besides the high provocation of Al-  
“ mighty God, and the hazard of your soul, when-  
“ ever you engage in a bad course, what a blemish  
“ you will bring upon a fair and unspotted reputa-  
“ tion ; what uneasiness and trouble you will create  
“ to yourself from the severe reflections of a guilty  
“ conscience ; and how great a violence you will  
“ offer to your good principles, your nature, and  
“ your education, and to a mind the best made for  
“ virtuous and worthy things. And do not ima-  
“ gine you can stop when you please. Experience  
“ shews us the contrary, and that nothing is more  
“ vain, than for men to think they can set bounds  
“ to themselves in any thing that is bad. I hope in  
“ God, no temptation has yet prevailed on your  
“ Lordship so far as to be guilty of any loose act.  
“ If it has, as you love your soul, let it not proceed  
“ to an habit. The retreat is yet easy and open, but  
“ will every day become more difficult and ob-  
“ structed. God is so merciful, that upon your re-  
“ pentance

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“ penitance and resolution of amendment, he is not  
 “ only ready to forgive what is past, but to assist us  
 “ by his grace to do better for the future. But I  
 “ need not inforce these considerations upon a mind  
 “ so capable of, and easy to receive good counsel.  
 “ I shall only desire your Lordship to think again  
 “ and again, how great a point of wisdom it is, in  
 “ all our actions, to consult the peace of our minds,  
 “ and to have no quarrel with the constant and in-  
 “ separable companion of our lives. If others dis-  
 “ please us, we may quit their company ; but he,  
 “ that is displeased with himself, is unavoidably  
 “ unhappy, because he has no way to get rid of  
 “ himself.

“ My Lord, for GOD’s sake, and your own,  
 “ think of being happy, and resolve by all means  
 “ to save yourself from this untoward generation.  
 “ Determine rather upon a speedy change of your  
 “ condition, than to gratify the inclinations of your  
 “ youth in any thing but what is lawful and ho-  
 “ nourable ; and let me have the satisfaction to be  
 “ assured from your Lordship, either that there has  
 “ been no ground for this report, or that there shall  
 “ be none for the future ; which will be the wel-  
 “ comest news to me in the world. I have only to  
 “ beg of your Lordship to believe, that I have not  
 “ done this to satisfy the formality of my profes-  
 “ sion ; but that it proceeds from the truest affec-  
 “ tion and good-will, that one man can possibly bear  
 “ to another. I pray GOD every day for your  
 “ Lordship with the same constancy and fervor as  
 “ for myself, and do most earnestly beg, that this  
 “ counsel may be acceptable and effectual.

“ I am, &c.”

Dr. GILBERT BURNET, who had contracted an  
 intimate friendship with our Dean in his first journey  
 to



to England in 1663<sup>p</sup>, having finished his *History of the Reformation*, the first volume of which was publish'd in 1679, as the second was in 1681, he submitted the manuscript of the whole work to his perusal and correction, as well as to that of Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD, then Dean of *Bangor*, and soon after Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and Dr. STILLINGFLEET, promoted to the Deanry of *St. Paul's* in the room of Dr. WILLIAM SANCROFT, advanc'd to the Archbishopric of *Canterbury* in January 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ . And Dr. BURNET in his *preface* to that *History*, which is one of the most valuable in our own or any other language, returns his acknowledgments upon that account to *these three great Divines*, "whose lives, says he, are such examples, their sermons such instructions, their writings such unanswerable vindications of our church, and their whole deportment so suitable to their profession, that, as I reckon my being admitted into some measure of friendship with them among the chief blessings of my life, so I know nothing can more effectually recommend this work, than to say, that it passed with their hearty approbation, after they had examined it with that care, which their great zeal for the cause concerned in it, and their goodness to the author, and freedom with him, obliged them to use."

The publication of this history was a most seasonable service to the nation amidst the alarms of Popery. And the same reason induced the Dean to take all opportunities to oppose the progress of that religion, especially at court, whence the greatest danger of it was then apprehended. Being called upon therefore unexpectedly to preach out of his turn before the King at *Whitehall* on the 2d of *April* 1680, he took for his text *Josh. xxiv. 15.* and his sermon was

<sup>p</sup> See the life of Bishop BURNET, subjoin'd to the II<sup>d</sup> vol. of the history of his own time, p. 676.

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was soon after published by his Majesty's special command at *London* in 4to, under the title of *The Protestant religion vindicated from the charge of singularity and novelty*. But this discourse, tho' an excellent and judicious one in the main parts of it, yet contained some incidental assertions, which gave no small offence to many both of the church and dissenting communions, particularly the following passages: "I cannot think (till I be better informed, which I am always ready to be) that any pretence of conscience warrants any man, that is not extraordinarily commission'd, as the Apostles and first publishers of the Gospel were, and cannot justify that commission by miracles, as they did, to affront the establish'd religion of a nation, tho' it be false, and openly to draw men off from the profession of it, in contempt of the magistrate and the law. All that persons of a different religion can in such a case reasonably pretend to, is to enjoy the private liberty and exercise of their own conscience and religion, for which they ought to be very thankful, and to forbear the open making of proselytes to their own religion (tho' they be never so sure, that they are in the right) till they have either an extraordinary commission from God to that purpose, or the providence of God make way for it by the permission of the magistrate." Dr. HICKES styles <sup>r</sup> this downright *Hobbism*; and tells us, that a witty Lord <sup>s</sup> standing at the King's elbow, when it was delivered, said, "Sir, Sir, do you hear Mr. HOBBS in the pulpit?" and that Dr. GUNNING, Bishop of *Ely*, complained of it in the House of Lords, as a doctrine that would serve the turn of Popery. He cites likewise the following extract of a letter of Dr. SIMON PATRICK,

<sup>s</sup> P. 11, 12. edit. 1680.

<sup>r</sup> Some discourses, p. 48.

<sup>s</sup> Mr. LESLIE in his Charge of Socinianism against TILLOTSON considered, p. 13. says, that it was the *E. of D.*

TRICK, afterwards Bishop of *Ely*, to Dr. SAMUEL PARKER, then Archdeacon of *Canterbury*: “ A  
 “ passage, I assure you, which I and some of our  
 “ common acquaintance read not without a great  
 “ deal of trouble, when we first saw it. . . . They  
 “ think it would be well to admonish him in a let-  
 “ ter of this error, and to represent the consequen-  
 “ ces of it to him, exposing his opinion. . . . It  
 “ is plain, by another passage in that sermon, that he  
 “ was not awake, nor had his wits about him, as  
 “ he used to have, when he wrote it. The place I  
 “ mean is page 9. There the very existence of a  
 “ God may be thought to be called into question  
 “ by him, and to be in his account but a politic  
 “ invention. For thus he writes, pressing religion  
 “ *as the strongest band of human society: God is*  
 “ *so necessary to the welfare and happiness of mankind,*  
 “ *as if the being of God himself had been purposely*  
 “ *designed and contrived for the benefit and advantage*  
 “ *of men.* In which his meaning is so untowardly  
 “ expressed, that you cannot but think he was in-  
 “ disposed, when he wrote so untowardly. He  
 “ hath altered this passage, I hear, in the second  
 “ edition; but so it is, as I have received it in that,  
 “ which he sent me at its first coming out. And  
 “ indeed that parenthesis in the first part of the ser-  
 “ mon (*till I be better informed*) shews he was in  
 “ too great haste at least, when he composed it;  
 “ else he would never have adventured to deliver his  
 “ opinion in a matter of such moment, till he had  
 “ been better informed of its truth. . . . I do not  
 “ write this out of any change there is in my mind  
 “ concerning persons or things, having the very  
 “ same thoughts I had, when you and I conversed  
 “ more frequently together, but the lamentable  
 “ case of things. . . . I cannot but have a love to  
 “ Dr.

\* The words in the first edition are, *as he could not have been more, if we could suppose the being, &c.*

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“ Dr. TILLOTSON’s person, tho’ I have none for  
 “ his opinion. I therefore would gladly have him  
 “ well treated, tho’ he be never so sharply reprov’d.”

Dr. HICKES adds, that Dr. PATRICK confirm’d all  
 this to Dr. PARKER, when he met the latter in *Lon-*  
*don*, and said, that Dr. TILLOTSON ought to give  
 satisfaction by a retractation, or else be expos’d.  
 “ If he will not, *says he*, be reduced, he ought to  
 “ have no mercy, but to be hunted out of the  
 “ Christian church, when he will not own it.”

The Dean’s doctrine was likewise animadverted  
 upon by Mr. SIMON LOWTH, Vicar of *Cosinus Blene*  
 in the Diocese of *Canterbury*, in his treatise, *Of the*  
*subject of church-power, in whom it resides, its force,*  
*extent, and execution, that it opposes not civil govern-*  
*ment, in any one instance of it*, printed at *London*  
 1685 in 8vo. This discourse had been seen in ma-  
 nuscript by the Dean and his friend Dr. STILLING-  
 FLEET, who was also severely reflected upon in it  
 for his *Irenicum*; and the author called upon them  
 by a letter, printed afterwards in the preface to that  
 book, to retract their own opinions, or to confute  
 his. But the Dean of *Canterbury* did not think pro-  
 per to take the least public notice of so confused and  
 unintelligible a writer<sup>u</sup>, whose stile is a mere jargon,  
 though Dr. HICKES<sup>w</sup> is pleas’d to stile him *a very*  
*orthodox and learned divine*, and his book an *excel-*  
*lent* one; and King JAMES II. had so great a regard  
 for him, as to nominate him to the Deanry of *Ro-*  
*chester* in the latter end of *October* 1688, which Mr.  
 LOWTH could not obtain possession of, for want of  
 the degree of Doctor of divinity, before that King’s  
 abdication. <sup>x</sup> But

<sup>u</sup> Dr. STILLINGFLEET made some remarks on Mr. LOWTH’s  
 book in his epistle dedicatory prefix’d to his sermon, preach’d at  
 a public ordination at *St. Peter’s Cornhill*, *March* 15<sup>th</sup>, 1687.  
 To which Mr. LOWTH replied in a letter to him, printed in  
 1687, in 4to.

<sup>w</sup> Some discourses, p. 48.

<sup>x</sup> WOOD. Fasti Oxon. vol. II. col. 138.



But it will be now requisite to see, how the Dean's position above-mentioned was received by the Non-conformists. Dr. CALAMY's account is<sup>a</sup>, that King CHARLES II. having slept most part of the time while the sermon was delivered, a certain nobleman stepped up to him, as soon as it was over, and said; " 'Tis pity your Majesty slept; for we " had the rarest piece of *Hobbism*, that ever you " heard in your life." Ods fish, he shall print it then, answered the king, and immediately called the Lord-chamberlain, and gave him his command to the Dean to print his sermon. When it came from the press, the Dean sent it as a present (as he usually did most of the pieces, which he publish'd) to Mr. JOHN HOWE, one of the most learned among the Non-conformist ministers, and who had been chaplain to the Protector OLIVER CROMWELL. Mr. HOWE immediately perused it, and was not a little troubled to find a notion there of so ill a tendency. Upon this he drew up a long letter, in which he freely expostulated with the Dean for giving such a wound to the reformation, intimating to him, that LUTHER and CALVIN, and the rest of our reformers were (thanks be to God) of another mind. The Christian religion, says he, both as to its precepts and promises, is already confirmed by miracles: And must it be repealed every time a wicked governor thinks fit to establish a false religion? Must no one stand up for the true religion, till he can work a miracle? He signified to him, how much he was grieved, that, in a sermon against Popery, he should plead the Popish cause against all the reformers; and insisted upon it, that we had incontestible evidence of the miracles wrought by the Apostles, and that we are bound to believe them,

and

<sup>a</sup> Memoirs of the life of Mr. JOHN HOWE, p. 75, 76. edit. London, 1724, in 8vo. Dr. CALAMY says, p. 78. that the person, from whom he had the story, committed it to writing presently after he had received it from Mr. HOWE himself.

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and take religion to be established by them without any farther expectations. Mr. HOWE carried the letter himself, and delivered it into the Dean's own hands; and he taking a general and cursory view of it, signified his willingness to talk that whole matter freely over; but said they could not be together where they were without interruption, and therefore moved for a little journey into the country, that so they might have freedom of discourse. They accordingly agreed to go and dine that day with the Lady FAUCONBERG at *Sutton-coart*, and Mr. HOWE read over the letter to the Dean, and enlarged upon the contents of it, as they were travelling along together in his chariot. The Dean at length fell to weeping freely, and said, that it was the most unhappy thing, that had a long time befallen him; and that he saw, what he had offered was not to be maintained. But he told him, that it was not his turn to preach as on that day; but the person, who was to have done that office, falling sick, the Dean was sent to by the Lord-chamberlain to supply his place. He added, that he had but little notice, and so considered the general fears of Popery, and his text offering itself, he thought the notion resulted from it. "And, *said he*, immediately after preaching I received a command from the King to "print the sermon; and then it was not in my "power to alter it." It was probably one of the Nonconformists, and no inconsiderable writer among them, who, soon after the publication of the Dean's sermon, printed in 4to *Short animadversions* upon it, so far as the said sermon asserteth the power of the magistrate in things of religion over his subjects, the same with that of a master of a family over his family. The unlawfulness of preaching the true religion by ministers, where a false religion is established by law, without an extraordinary commission confirmed by miracles; and the hypocrisy of such ministers, as think them-

themselves obliged to preach Christ (tho' contrary to a law) in their own country, because they do not go and do the same in Turkey or Spain. All which assertions are shortly examined. The first proved to be uncertainly true. The second condemning the practice of all the first ministers of the Gospel after the Apostles; and of those, that have laboured in reformation. The third most uncharitable and groundless. This piece is written with the utmost civility to the Dean, whom the author acquits of any thought of encouraging a persecution of Protestant-dissenters, at a time, when it was the most adviseable project for the Popish design imaginable, "because, says *the animadverter*<sup>b</sup>, he hath appeared to the world "such an eminent assertor of the true religion "against Popery; and as he is a man of judgment and learning above thousands of others, so "he hath always appeared a man of temper and "exceeding great moderation." He declares<sup>c</sup> himself likewise far from the base dissingenuity of those, who can see nothing good in their adversaries, that tho' he thought himself obliged to enter his dissent to some things said by the Dean concerning the *power of the magistrate* in matters of religion, and the *force of some human laws* prohibiting men to preach the Gospel; yet he was so far pleased with the rest of the discourse, that "I do, says *he*, for myself, and I dare venture in the name "of all Dissenters, to give him thanks for what "he hath said in it in defence of the *Protestant religion* (that *Hogen-mogen* thing, as a late *Dialogist*, who would be thought a Protestant, is pleased to call it) and to aver, that if theré were "no more said by any in the world to loath people "of that religion, and make it an abhorrence to "all good princes and all good men, than he hath "said in 13 or 14 lines, p. 31. nor any more said

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" than

<sup>a</sup> P. 1.

<sup>c</sup> P. 2, 3.

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“ than he hath said to baffle their Popish argu-  
 “ ments from *universality* and *antiquity*, yet there  
 “ needed no more ; for all the Papists on earth can  
 “ never either wipe off the first, or answer the lat-  
 “ ter.” The *animadverter* then remarks<sup>d</sup>, that all,  
 that he had to enter his dissent to, lies in five pages,  
 the 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. of the Dean’s sermon; nor  
 should he have done that, if he had not judg’d,  
 that by some assertions in them the magistrate is  
 warranted, if not in the slaying, yet in the banish-  
 ment or severe punishing of his subjects dissenting,  
 not in the essentials of religion, but only in the cir-  
 cumstantials, yet such, as in the doing, or not doing  
 of them aright, the soul may become guilty before  
 God : And also that by those assertions, whosoever  
 succeeded the Apostles in the plantation of the Gos-  
 pel, in countries where a false religion was before  
 establish’d by a law ; and all those glorious martyrs,  
 who had suffered for publishing the Gospel in *Eng-  
 land*, while Popery was here established by law, or  
 in other countries ; “ and so, *continues he*, all the  
 “ reformers, are most inconsiderately condemn’d, as  
 “ doing that they had no right, no authority to  
 “ do ; and all those Divines condemned for *hypo-  
 “ crites*, who take themselves bound in their native  
 “ country, and to their neighbourhood, under a  
 “ necessity to preach the Gospel, and cannot think  
 “ that they have an equal obligation upon them to  
 “ traverse the world, to make the Gospel abound,  
 “ from *London* to *Constantinople*, *Rome*, or *Ma-  
 “ drid*.” He assents to the main proposition of the  
 Dean, p. 9, &c. that, “ to countenance and sup-  
 “ port the true religion, and to take care, that the  
 “ people be instructed in it, and that none be per-  
 “ mitted to debauch and seduce men from it, pro-  
 “ perly belongs to the civil magistrate :” but then  
 proceeds to his exceptions against some of the sub-  
 sequent

<sup>d</sup> P. 4, 5.



sequent passages in the sermon. And the Dean himself thought proper to review it, and to publish new edition of it the same year, tho' without taking notice in the title-page, that it was a second edition; in which he made an alteration or two in the passages excepted to; particularly in that, where in the former edition he spake of religion's being *the strongest band of human society*, and God *so necessary to the welfare and happiness of mankind*, as he could not have been more, &c. he changed the word *be* into *it*; and in p. 12. after the word *permission*, he added [*or connivance*] *of the magistrate*. These alterations were preserved in all the subsequent editions, and in the first in 8vo, in the third volume of his sermons in 1686, Sermon IX. he added a paragraph of near a page after the words *permission or connivance of the magistrate*, beginning thus: "Not but that every  
" man hath a right, &c. and ending with the word *sufferings*.

The *Animadversions* above-mentioned came to his hands while he was in residence at *Canterbury*, in July 1680; but they did not seem to him very considerable, as he wrote on the 27th of that month to his friend ROBERT NELSON, Esq;. "However,  
" added he, I am sorry, that any thing of mine  
" should occasion so much talk and noise." This letter is the earliest in date of the collection now before me\*, written by the Dean to that gentleman, whose friendship for the former, notwithstanding the difference of their political sentiments after the revolution, is equally honourable to them both. This letter is in answer to one from Mr. NELSON, containing his acknowledgments for the civilities shewn him during his stay with the Dean, whom he had lately visited at *Canterbury*; and shews how

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great

\* Communicated to me by the late Rev. OBEDIAH HUGHES, D. D. who married the daughter of Sir GABRIEL ROBERTS, uncle to Mr. NELSON.

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great share that gentleman then had in the good opinion of so able a judge of men. Mr. NELSON was at that time but four and twenty years of age, being born in *London* on the 22d of *June* 1656. He was son of Mr. JOHN NELSON, a considerable *Turkey* merchant of that city, by DELICIAE his wife, sister of Sir GABRIEL ROBERTS, who was likewise a *Turky* merchant, and a particular friend of Dr. TILLOTSON. His father dying when he was but two years old, he was committed to the care of his mother and her brother Sir GABRIEL, who was appointed his guardian, and by whom he was extremely belov'd, not only on account of his near relation, but also of his person, and temper, and the strength and vivacity of his understanding even in his earliest years. His first education was at *St. Paul's* school in *London*; but the principal part of it was form'd under a private tutor in his mother's house<sup>f</sup>, and likewise no less a man than Dr. GEORGE BULL, afterwards Bishop of *St. David's*, and then Rector of *St. Mary Siddington*, with the Vicarage of *St. Peter* annex'd to it, near *Cirencester* in the county of *Glocester*<sup>g</sup>, to whose memory Mr. NELSON return'd an ample tribute of gratitude and regard in the elaborate and instructive life<sup>h</sup>, which he published of that great divine, his application to which is thought to have heightened the disorder, under which he had long laboured, an asthma and dropsy in the breast, which proved fatal to him at the age of fifty-nine, on the 16th of *January* 1713<sup>+</sup> at *Kensington*, in the house of his cousin Mrs. WOLF, daughter of Sir GABRIEL ROBERTS, and then a widow. His body was interr'd in the new burying-ground

<sup>f</sup> Life of Mr. JOHN KBTLEWELL, p. 433, 434.

<sup>g</sup> Life of Dean COLET, by Dr. SAMUEL KNIGHT, p. 420. 421. and account of Mr. NELSON, prefix'd to the 19th edit. of his Companion for the festivals and fasts of the church of *England*.

<sup>h</sup> Life of Bishop BULL by Mr. NELSON, p. 2. 2d edit.

ground in *Lambs-conduit-fields*, where a monument is erected to him with an epitaph in *Latin*, written by the elegant pen of Dr. SMALRIDGE, Bishop of *Bristol*; and his funeral sermon was preached in the chapel of *Ormond-street* on the 6th of *February* following, and soon after published, by Dr. JOHN MARSHAL, L. L. D. in which his character for learning, piety, charity, and humanity, is fully represented. He had adher'd to the communion of the depriv'd Bishops till the death of Dr. LLOYD Bishop of *Norwich*, on the 1st of *January* 17<sup>th</sup> 1702, which terminating, in his and Mr. DODWELL's opinion, what they had before thought a schism, he joined in communion with the Bishops, who had taken the oaths. His conduct in that respect was highly disapproved of by Dr. HICKES, with whom, as well as others of the most eminent Nonjurors, he had cultivated the strictest intimacy; which will account for his profound silence with respect to his old friend Archbishop TILLOTSON in all his writings; Dr. HICKES being now his favourite writer, whom he represented <sup>i</sup> as *the most considerable reviver of primitive theology* in that age, and one who had created such a regard to antiquity, as would preserve the age from the infection of *Latitudinarian principles*.

The death of JOHN WILMOT Earl of *Rocheſter* at *Woodſtock-park* in *Oxfordſhire*, on the 26th of *July* 1680, preceded by a repentance equally remarkable with the unexampled profligacy of his conduct and principles, giving occasion to a letter of Mr. NELSON a few days after, the Dean begins his answer to it from *Canterbury* on the second of *Auguſt*, in theſe words: “ Could I have found any thing  
“ in myſelf to have juſtified your kind opinion of  
“ me, I might have taken the opportunity to have  
“ let a copy of your letter ſlip abroad, under pre-

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tence

<sup>i</sup> Life of Biſhop BULL, p. 514, 515.

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“ tence of publishing my Lord of *Rochester’s* re-  
 “ pentance. I am sorry, that an example, which  
 “ might have been of so much use and advantage  
 “ to the world, is so soon taken from us. But God  
 “ had pity on him, and would not venture him  
 “ again in such circumstances of temptation, as  
 “ were perhaps too hard for human frailty.” The  
 The case of his Lordship made as deep an impres-  
 sion upon the Dean, as such an uncommon event  
 might be expected to do upon a mind turned and  
 habituated so much to reflection upon every inci-  
 dent of importance; and he entered into his com-  
 mon-place book in short-hand the following thoughts  
 upon that occasion :

“ *Octob. 1. 1680.*

“ My Lord of ROCHESTER,

“ **T**HE omnipotency of God’s grace can easily  
 “ change any man, by letting in light into  
 “ his mind, and pouring in strong convictions into  
 “ his conscience. The greatest and most obstinate  
 “ minds, he, that made them, how easily can he  
 “ turn them, even the hearts of Kings, as the ri-  
 “ vers of water, which follow the channel, that is  
 “ made for them !

“ An example encouraging enough to keep any  
 “ man from despair, but not strong enough to  
 “ found an absolute predestination of all upon.

“ If this great general and leader was so easily  
 “ conquered, and yielded up himself a willing cap-  
 “ tive to the grace of God \* \*

“ Bad men are infidels *se defendendo*. When the  
 “ affection to our lusts is gone, the objections  
 “ against religion vanish of themselves.

“ Choose you and \* \*

“ The greatest instance any age hath afforded :  
 “ not for his own sake, as St. PAUL was not, who  
 “ yet



“ yet was no enemy to God and religion, but by  
“ mistake. I cannot think, but that it was intended  
“ for some greater good to others.

“ If reputation, or pleasure, or safety, or vir-  
“ tue, or even happiness itself have any  
“ religion hath all these in it.

“ Atheism and infidelity do not bind up the  
“ senses of men strongly enough, but they may be  
“ awakened by the apprehension of death, or some  
“ great calamity coming upon them. A false reli-  
“ gion, if a man be sincere in it, will bear up a  
“ man's spirits against torments and death, be-  
“ cause every man's conscience is a kind of god to  
“ him; and the strongest opiates in the world are  
“ *Enthusiasm* and *Popery*. These may lock up mens  
“ senses beyond the power of truth to awaken them;  
“ as we see in the murderers of our late Sovereign,  
“ and in our present *Romish* conspirators.”

Some of these reflections were afterwards intro-  
duced by the Dean into his sermon on *Jerem. xiii. 23.*  
*of the difficulty of reforming vicious habits*, in the  
following passage of which he evidently alludes to  
the recovery of Lord *Rocheſter* from his enormous  
course of vice. “ Even in this perverse and dege-  
“ nerate age, in which we live, God hath not been  
“ wanting to give some miraculous instances <sup>1</sup> of

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“ his

<sup>1</sup> Besides the case of the Earl of *Rocheſter*, there was another  
instance of a nobleman and a contemner of religion, JAMES LEY  
Earl of *Marlborough*, brought to a different sense of things upon  
real conviction, even in full health, some time before he was  
kill'd in the sea-fight at *Southold Bay*, under the Duke of *York*  
against the *Dutch*, on the 3d of *June* 1665. He wrote several  
letters to his friends, whom he was conscious of having injur'd  
by his ill example and impiety, urging them to return to vir-  
tue and religion. Mr. PRINCE in his *Worthies of Devonshire*,  
Dr. WOODWARD in his *Fair Warnings*, p. 3. and Bishop KEN-  
NET in his *Complete history of England*, vol. III. p. 276. 2d  
edit. have publish'd one of these letters, written to Sir HUGH  
POLLARD, Comptroller of the Household: and I have the origi-  
nal

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“ his grace and mercy to sinners, and these per-  
 “ haps equal to any of those we meet with in scrip-  
 “ ture, of MANASSES, or MARY MAGDALENE,  
 “ or the penitent thief, both for the greatness of  
 “ the offenders, and the miracle of their change,  
 “ to the end that none may despair, and for want  
 “ of the encouragement of an example equal to  
 “ their own case, be disheartened from so noble an  
 “ enterprize. I am loth to put you in mind how  
 “ bad some have been, who yet have been *snatched*  
 “ *as firebrands out of the fire*, and that in so strange  
 “ a manner, that it would even amaze a man to  
 “ think of the wonder of their recovery. Those,  
 “ who have sunk themselvs into the very depth of  
 “ infidelity and wickedness, have by a mighty hand  
 “ and out-stretched arm of God been pluckt out of  
 “ this horrible pit. And will we still stand it out  
 “ with God, when such great leaders have given  
 “ up the cause, and have surrendered and yielded  
 “ up themselves willing captives to the grace of  
 “ God? that omnipotent grace of God, which can  
 “ easily subdue the stoutest heart of man, by let-  
 “ ting in so strong a light upon our minds, and  
 “ pouring such terrible convictions into our con-  
 “ sciences, that we can find no ease but in turning  
 “ to God.” He then proceeds to obviate the ob-  
 jections of those, who either denied, that there had  
 been such examples, or imputed the behaviour of  
 such persons at their death, either to a disturbed  
 imagination, or to the faint and low spirits of men  
 under great bodily weakness, or to their natural  
 cowardise and fear, or to I know not what foolish  
 and

ginal of another in my possession, dated 23d of *May* 1665, and  
 directed to WILLIAM GLASCOCK, Esq;

A later instance of the repentance of a man of excellent parts  
 and great spirit was that of Sir DUNCOMB COLCHESTER of  
*Gloucestershire*, who in *November* 1697 drew up a penitential  
 declaration, which he ordered to be made public, and liv'd many  
 years an example of a thorough reformation.

and fantastical design of compleating and finishing a wicked life with an hypocritical death. All these groundless objections were most probably urged by the libertines of that age, in opposition to the conclusions naturally arising against their cause, from the repentance of so eminent a member and professor of their body; and they even subsist in some measure to this day, and are too often made use of to weaken the credit and effect of Dr. BURNET's book upon that subject, written by the Earl's own direction on his death-bed<sup>k</sup>. The Dean appears to have revised and improved that book, since it concludes<sup>l</sup> almost in the exact words of his letter to Mr. NELSON of the 2d of *August*, that "God took pity on the Earl, and seeing the sincerity of his repentance, would try and venture him no more in circumstances of temptation, perhaps too hard for human frailty."

The Rectory of *Barnes* in *Surrey* being vacant in *August* 1680, and in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of *St. Paul's*, Mr. NELSON wrote to the Dean of *Canterbury* in favour of Mr. RICHARD KIDDER. This Divine, sufficiently known to the world by his writings, especially his *Demonstration of the Messiah*, was born at *Brightelmstone* in *Suffex*<sup>m</sup>, and educated at *Emanuel College*

<sup>k</sup> Printed at *London* 1680, in 8vo. The 6th edition was published in 1724. The credit of the Doctor's book, and the sincerity of the Earl's repentance, would be fully established, if they wanted any additional evidence, by the publication of five letters, still extant, of his mother ANNE, Countess Dowager of *Rocheſter*, and sister of Sir WALTER ST. JOHN of *Batterſea*, Bart. to that gentleman's lady JOHANNA, daughter of the Lord-chief-justice ST. JOHN. These letters were written during her son's last illness, and shew him to have been, during the course of it, fully possess'd of his understanding. One particular in them deserves to be mention'd here, that when one of the Earl's physicians, thinking to please him, told him, that the King drank his health some days before, he look'd earnestly upon him, and said never a word, but turned his face from him.

<sup>l</sup> P. 117. 6th edit.

<sup>m</sup> WILLIS's Survey of the Cathedrals of *Lincoln*, *Ely*, &c. p. 151.

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*College in Cambridge*, of which he was chosen Fellow in 1655, having taken the degree of Bachelor of arts in 1652, and that of Master in 1656, in which he was incorporated in the university of *Oxford* on the 13th of *July* 1658<sup>a</sup>. His first preferment was the Vicarage of *Stanground* in the county of *Huntingdon*, to which he was presented by his college, and deprived of it in 1662 for not complying with the act of uniformity<sup>c</sup>. But he conform'd some time after, and in *October* 1664 was presented by ARTHUR Earl of *Essex* to the Rectory of *Raine-parva* in *Essex*<sup>p</sup>; and on the 24th of *October* 1674 instituted to that of *St. Martin-Outwich* in *London*<sup>q</sup>, to which he had been elected by the company of Merchant-taylors. He was installed Prebendary of *Norwich* on the 16th of *September* 1681, upon the death of Dr. HEZEKIAH BURTON. Soon after the revolution in 1689, he was made Dean of *Peterborough* in the room of Dr. SIMON PATRICK, advanced to the See of *Chichester*, and on the 30th of *August* 1691 was consecrated to the Bishopric of *Bath and Wells*, upon the deprivation of Dr. THOMAS KENN for not taking the oaths to their Majesties, and the refusal of Dr. WILLIAM BEVERIDGE to succeed in the place of the depriv'd Bishop. He was killed with his Lady in his palace at *Wells*, by the fall of a stack of chimnies, during the high wind on the 27th of *November* 1703. The Dean of *Canterbury*'s intimate friendship with and pre-engagement to Dr. HEZEKIAH BURTON prevented his compliance with Mr. NELSON's recommendation of Mr. KIDDER. "I know not, says he in his letter to "that gentleman from *Canterbury*, Aug. 15, 1680, "how Mr. GRIFFITH came to understand me so  
" well;

<sup>a</sup> WOOD. *Fasti. Oxon. vol. II. col. 123.*

<sup>c</sup> KENNET'S Register and chronicle, p. 853. and CALAMY'S account, p. 371.

<sup>p</sup> NEWCOURT'S Repertorium, vol. II.

p. 480.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid. vol. I. p. 414.



“ well ; but he made a very right judgment, when  
 “ he pitched upon you, as of all men most likely  
 “ to command me in any thing you should desire.  
 “ And no man should have been more glad to have  
 “ gratified so worthy a person, as Mr. KIDDER.  
 “ But the truth is, I was pre-engaged for Dr. BUR-  
 “ TON, and have written to Dr. STILLINGFLEET  
 “ our Dean in his behalf, tho’ I fear without suc-  
 “ cess, because I understand, that my Lord of  
 “ *Danby* (from whom I received a letter last night)  
 “ hath engaged both the Dean and Dr. TURNER  
 “ for Dr. HAWKINS of the *Tower*, Dr. LAYFIELD’s  
 “ son-in-law. I had a letter likewise from Sir GA-  
 “ BRIEL ROBERTS for Mr. KIDDER, whom I  
 “ should be glad to have been able to oblige. But  
 “ I wrote to him, that I was pre-engaged.” How-  
 ever Dr. HAWKINS, whose interest with the Earl of  
*Danby* might arise from his Lordship’s being then  
 prisoner in the *Tower*, of which the Doctor was  
 Chaplain, failed of his application for the living,  
 which was given to Dr. BURTON ; but his office in  
 the *Tower* giving him afterwards great opportuni-  
 ties of obliging the court, especially in his attend-  
 ance upon Mr. EDWARD FITZ HARRIS, who was exe-  
 cuted on the 1st of *July* 1631, his interest became  
 so considerable with King JAMES II. that he ob-  
 tained of his Majesty the Deanry of *Chichester*, upon  
 the death of Dr. GEORGE STRADLING on the 19th  
 of *April* 1688.

In this letter of the 15th of *August*, and some of  
 the following ones, the Dean of *Canterbury* men-  
 tions Mr. DE VEIL as then with him ; whom he  
 patronised on account of his learning and conver-  
 sion to the Protestant religion. This gentleman,  
 whose name was LEWIS DE COMPEIGNE DE VEIL,  
 had published in 1679 in *Hebrew*, with a *Latin*  
 version

\* Vicar of *All-hallows Barking*, and \*Archdeacon of *Essex*,  
 who died about *January* 1682.

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version by himself, *Catechismus Judæorum in disputatione & dialogo magistri & discipuli, scriptus à R. ABRHAMO JAGEL, monte Silicis oriundo*, with a dedication to Dr. COMPTON Bishop of London; and this book was reprinted at *Franeker* in 1690 in 8vo. He gave the public likewise a *Latin* translation of, and notes upon, Rabbi MOSES MAIMONIDES's book *De sacrificiis*, and his tract *De consecratione, & de ratione intercalandi*, and ABARBANEL's *Exordium sive proæmium in Leviticum*, printed at London in 1683 in 4to. He had published also at *Paris* in 1678, the 8th book of MAIMONIDES *De cultu divino* with a *Latin* version, just before he left *France*, where he was the King's interpreter for the *Oriental* languages. He was born a Jew, but afterwards embraced the Popish religion, which he at last renounced for the Protestant<sup>s</sup>, and entered into the communion of the church of *England*, whither he retired about the year 1679. He had a brother<sup>t</sup>, CHARLES MARIE DE VEIL, D. D. of the university of *Angers*, who was likewise born a Jew at *Metz* in *Lorraine*, but being converted to Christianity, while he was very young, became a canon regular of St. *Augustin*, and Prior of St. *Ambrose* at *Melun*; which preferments he quitted, and declared himself a Protestant, and took refuge in *England*<sup>u</sup>, where he preached among the Anabaptists in 1685<sup>x</sup>. He had published, while he was in *France*, commentaries in *Latin* upon the Gospels of St. *Matthew* and *Mark*, the Canticles, and the Prophet *Joel*; as he did one in the same language in *England* upon the *Acts of the Apostles*, printed at London 1684 in 8vo, and published

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<sup>s</sup> BARTOLOCCII Bibliotheca Rabbinica, tom. III. n. 847. fol. 843.

<sup>t</sup> R. SIMON, Lettres choisies, Tom. I. p. 78. 2d edit. in not. & Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa, vol. III. p. 645, 973.

<sup>u</sup> BARTOLOCC. ubi supra, and BAYLE, Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Decemb. 1684. art. XI. p. 518. and Sept. 1685. art. XI. p. 1029.

<sup>x</sup> Id. p. 1029.

lished there the year following in *English* in the same form.

The Dean of *Canterbury* was return'd from thence to *London* in *October* 1680, whence he wrote on the 19th of that month to Mr. NELSON, then at *Dryfield* near *Cirencester* in *Glocestershire*, in answer to a letter received from that gentleman the day before, in which he had mentioned a report spread to the Dean's disadvantage, with regard to some alterations, which had been made in his cathedral, and containing probably some insinuations of his disinclination to the usual ornaments in such buildings. "And now," *replies he*, it is time to be sensible of the kind "concernment you are pleas'd to express for me in your letter. Your conjecture is very right. We only took down the sun over the screen behind the communion table, which was done with so little noise, that several days pass'd before it was taken notice of to be remov'd; and nothing done besides, not so much as the table stirr'd out of its place. I have often heard the same, which you write, but have no great reason to be troubled, when I consider how undeserved a share of good report I have had the fortune to meet withal." In this letter he takes notice, that the Duke and Duchess of YORK were to begin their voyage for *Scotland* the next day, "upon a sudden resolution," *adds he*, of the council, as seems to us. A few days will probably make much more news." Their Royal Highnesses accordingly left *Whitehall* on the 20th of *October*, and embark'd at *Woolwich*, the King being advis'd by his council to part with the Duke, since it would be impossible to support him during the session of the parliament, which met the day following in a temper very unfavourable to his Royal Highness, who was now become extremely obnoxious to the nation in general,

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ral, and had been just before presented at the King's-bench-bar in *Westminster-hall*, as a Popish recusant, by a bill in form, offer'd by the Earls of HUNTINGDON and SHAFTESBURY, the Lords GREY of *Werk*, BRANDON-GERARD, RUSSEL, and CAVENDISH, and several considerable gentlemen; though by the sudden dismissal of the Grand-jury, the matter had no consequence in the forms of the court. And the Dean himself was so deeply affected with a just apprehension of the danger of a Popish successor to the civil as well as religious liberties of his country, that he could not but wish success to the exclusion-bill, which had been stopp'd in the preceding session of parliament in *May* 1679, by his Majesty's prorogation, and was now resum'd, and pass'd the Commons by a great majority, but thrown out at the second reading in the House of Peers by sixty-three against thirty, only three of eleven Bishops then present giving their votes for it; Dr. COMPTON, Bishop of *London*, being one of those three. The Dean's zeal for it indeed was such, that he employ'd his interest with SAVILE, Viscount (afterwards Marquis) of *Hallifax*, to divert his Lordship from his vehement opposition to it<sup>w</sup>: And when the Clergy of *London* agreed upon an address to the King, upon his Majesty's declaring in his answer of the 4th of *January* 168<sup>o</sup> to the address of the Commons, that he could not consent to such a bill, the Dean refus'd to sign that address of his brethren<sup>x</sup>. He takes notice of this situation of public affairs in a letter from *London* of the 5th of *January* 168<sup>o</sup> to Mr. NELSON, who had written to him from *Paris*, where he was just arriv'd. "His Majesty, *says he*, "and his house of Commons, still differ about the "point of exclusion. They will give any thing "for that, and his Majesty any thing but that."

But

<sup>w</sup> BURNET's History of his own time, vol. I. p. 459.

<sup>x</sup> Life, p. 17.



But these disputes were soon determin'd by a dissolution of that parliament on the 18th of that month, and of the succeeding one summon'd at *Oxford* on the 14th of *March* following, after a session of only seven days, which was the last in that reign.

In this letter the Dean congratulates Mr. NELSON upon his escape from a storm at sea, in which three merchant ships in the *Downs* were cast away, and upon his safe arrival at *Paris*, "which, *says he*, together "with the sight of the great King, must needs "make amends for all the difficulties and distresses "of your journey." He observes likewise, that the comet had appear'd in *London* very plain for several nights, with a stream much of the length describ'd by Mr. NELSON, to whose *learned friend* and *companion* Mr. EDMUND HALLEY the Dean adds his thanks and compliments. "I have not yet, *says he*, "received his favour; but shall be glad to see any "thing of his, and much more to be able to understand it." What Mr. HALLEY intended to write to the Dean was probably upon the subject of that comet, which that great astronomer first perceiv'd in the midway between *Calais* and *Paris*, in company with Mr. NELSON, with whom he had contracted a friendship from their childhood, as himself observes in his *Account of Mr. DODWELL's* book *De Cyclis*, address'd to that gentleman, and printed in 1715, at the end of Mr. BROKESBY's life of Mr. DODWELL, dedicated likewise to Mr. NELSON. This comet, one of the most remarkable which had ever been observ'd, and the same that appeared the year of JULIUS CÆSAR's death, the period of its revolution being 575 years, afforded Mr. HALLEY an important subject of inquiry, and produced his *Synopsis cometarum*, one of the most valuable of his works. For, in this piece, upon the foundation of Sir ISAAC NEWTON's principles, he reduces the path or orbit of this species of planets to a simple parabola,

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parabola, having the sun for one focus, in common with the ellipses described by the motion of the ordinary planets ; which greatly facilitates the calculation of comets ; and in a single page has comprised the result of almost infinite application, exhibiting in one table the nodes, perihelia, distances, and course of 24 comets, the most considerable and most accurately describ'd. He was now famous over *Europe*, tho' he was but four and twenty years of age at the time of his journey to *France*, whither he went to visit the learned, for which purpose he likewise passed thence into *Italy*. After his first education at *St. Paul's* school, and an uncommon progress, not only in the *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew* languages, but also in geometry and astronomy, he was admitted in 1673 at seventeen into *Queen's College Oxford* ; and having at nineteen published his direct and geometrical method of finding the aphelia and eccentricity of planets, his merit recommended him to King CHARLES II. who sent him to *St. Helena* in *November* 1676, to make a catalogue of the stars of the southern hemisphere, whence he returned in autumn 1678, and was on the 3d of *December* following created Master of arts, having been on the 30th of *November* elected a Fellow of the Royal Society ; and in 1679 made a voyage to *Dantzick* to converse with the celebrated *Hévelius*. The subsequent history of this excellent astronomer, mathematician, and philosopher, whose various pieces, dispers'd in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, and other books, would, if collected and republished, be a valuable present to the public, may be seen in the eloge upon him by *Mons. Mairan* in the *memoirs* of the Royal Academy of Sciences at *Paris*. His life, as well as that of his friend Sir ISAAC NEWTON, was extended to an uncommon age, 86 ; he dying *January* 13th, 1741 $\frac{1}{2}$  ; being himself an instance of an observation, which I have often heard him make, that a studious

ous manner of life generally contributes to a long one, by keeping a man, as he express'd it, out of harm's way.

The Dean concludes his letter to Mr. NELSON in terms, which shewed the highest regard for him. " If  
" I were able, *says he*, I need not to advise you in any  
" thing, so well am I assured of your virtue and  
" good conduct. I pray for you continually, that  
" God would preserve you, and return you safe and  
" the same to us, and give you all the advantages  
" you expected, and will, I am sure, endeavour to  
" make, by your travels. I never know how to part  
" from you, but my business calls me off."

His next letter is dated from *London* the 7th of *March* 1687, in which he thanks Mr. NELSON for his two letters, and his account of the occurrences in *France*; " among which, *says he*, nothing pleased  
" me better than the condescension of your great  
" Cardinal, in honouring your *St. Bartholomew's*  
" fair with so secular a kind of presence and de-  
" meanor." With regard to the state of things in *England* at that time, which was a week before the meeting of the Parliament at *Oxford*, he observes,  
" I hope our affairs are not in so deplorable a  
" condition, as they are reported at *Paris*. It may  
" yet come to our turn to talk of our neigh-  
" bours with as much pity, tho' perhaps with less  
" pleasure. Most of our elections for the next  
" Parliament are over, almost without any drinking  
" or expence, which is great news; and generally  
" the same persons are chosen again." He then takes notice, " that there was little progress made  
" the last Parliament towards a reconciliation of  
" Dissenters. Two bills were brought into the  
" House of Commons to that purpose; the one  
" called a *Bill of indulgence* to mitigate the severity  
" of the laws towards those, who could not come  
" into the national constitution: The other of *union*,

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“ by which the new subscriptions were to be taken  
 “ away, and the ceremonies left indifferent. I never  
 “ saw the bills, but this was the substance of them,  
 “ which, so far as I can learn, pleased neither side.  
 “ The Bishops thought this too much, and the Dis-  
 “ senters too little. I have no great hopes of any  
 “ good issue of this matter, till the minds of men  
 “ become more calm.” The *Bill for uniting the*  
*King's Protestant subjects*, referr'd to in this letter,  
 and read for the first time in the House of Commons  
 on the 21st of *December* 1680, meeting with a strong  
 opposition there, another was brought in for ex-  
 empting the Protestant Dissenters from the penalties  
 imposed on the Papists, by the act of the 35th of  
 Queen ELIZABETH, and this passed both Houses ;  
 but on the day of the prorogation of the Parliament,  
 when it ought to have been offer'd to the King, for  
 his assent, it was withdrawn by the Clerk of the  
 Crown, by his Majesty's particular orders ; an of-  
 fence, which was moved to be examin'd into in the  
 subsequent Parliament at *Oxford*, the sudden dissolu-  
 tion of which prevented that and all other inquiries.

In this letter the Dean inclosed for Mr. HALLEY  
 some observations of Mr. HILL of *Canterbury*, *not*  
*a learned, but a very industrious man*, upon the late  
 comet, which he told the Dean within a fortnight  
 past, appeared then, but was very little. The post-  
 script mentions Dr. ZACHARY CRADOCK's being  
 elected Provost of *Eton College*, as he was by the  
 Fellows upon the death of Dr. ALLESTREE in *Ja-*  
*nuary* preceding, in opposition to Mr. WALLER the  
 poet, whose pretensions were set aside by a determi-  
 nation of the Privy-council on the 22d of *February*,  
 that no person could be Provost, who was not capa-  
 ble of taking the care of souls. This eminent di-  
 vine, who was admired in his own time for his un-  
 common talents of discoursing from the pulpit with  
 the



the greatest copiousness and vivacity, without notes or preparation, is scarce known to the present age, except by the high character given of him by his contemporaries, and two of his sermons, one on *Ecclesiast.* ix. 2. published by command of King CHARLES II. before whom it was preached, *Febr.* 10th 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and another on 1 *Tim.* i. 5. intitled, *The great end and design of Christianity*, printed several years after his death, from a copy said to be given by him to one of his friends. He had been educated in *Queen's College Cambridge*, where he gained so universal an esteem by his learning and piety, that Dr. CUDWORTH wrote on the 27th of *October* 1656, in the strongest terms, in his favour to Secretary THURLOE, to recommend him to the Protector, that he might be appointed Chaplain to the *English* factory at *Lisbon*<sup>2</sup>. Some years after the Restoration he was made Canon-residentary of *Chichester*; being installed on the 11th of *February* 1669-70, and elected Fellow of *Eton College* on the 2d of *December* 1672; and having enjoyed the Provostship about fourteen years, died on the 16th of *October* 1695, in the sixty-second year of his age<sup>3</sup>.

Mr. NELSON was still at *Paris* in the latter end of *April* 1681, whence he wrote two letters to the Dean, acquainting him with a proposal, which had been made to him for the purchase of a place at court. The offer came from Mr. HENRY SAVILE, brother of GEORGE Viscount *Hallifax*, and Envoy-extraordinary from the King to the court of *France*, and sworn Vice-chamberlain of the King's household, in *September*, 1680. He was now in *England*, whence he had probably written to Mr. NELSON upon that affair, which was by no means an agreeable one to his uncle Sir GABRIEL ROBERTS, or to the Dean,

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for

<sup>2</sup> THURLOE's State-papers, vol. V. p. 522. 523.

<sup>3</sup> LE NEVE Monumenta Anglicana, from 1680 to 1699, p. 166.

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for reasons, which will appear in his answer from London on the 28th of April 1681. “ But now, “ *says he,* to the main business, to which I find “ your uncle so absolutely averse, that he did not “ think it fit your mother should be acquainted “ with it. It is well, if you escape chiding from “ him. As for myself, than whom no person in “ the world can wish you better, since you are “ pleased to repose that kind confidence in me, as “ to ask my advice, I will faithfully give it. In “ the present uncertainty of things, I would not “ have you venture so considerable a sum, as those “ places go at ; and unless *some body* grow better, “ which I hope God will grant, the temptations, “ to which a man must be exposed in that station, “ are like to be so violent, as would set the firmest “ virtue hard, even my friend’s, of whom I have so “ good an opinion. Your mother hath but just “ master’d the trouble of your absence, which, I “ understand by your aunt HANGER, was for a great “ while very grievous to her ; and therefore you “ will, I am sure, be very tender of giving any new “ occasion. I will wait upon Mr. SAVILE, and “ make the best acknowledgments I can of his “ great civilities and favours to you, and let him “ know how your friends stand affected in this mat- “ ter, to whose judgment and determination you “ have referred it.”

He expresses in this letter his satisfaction in what Mr. NELSON had written to him concerning Mons. CLAUDE, Minister of the *French* Protestant Church at Charenton near Paris, and one of the ablest managers of the controversy against that of Rome, which his age produced. “ I am very glad, *says the* “ Dean, Mons. CLAUDE hath resolved, as I think, “ the wiser way, tho’ I hear he hath written to Mr. “ BAXTER a very kind and honest letter, in which “ he

“ he wishes, that the Bishops would shew them  
 “ more favour ; but withal tells him, he cannot see  
 “ how they can be acquitted of schism : which let-  
 “ ter, I believe, they will hardly print.” This seems  
 to refer to Monsr. CLAUDE’s having been consulted  
 about that time, among other eminent *French* di-  
 vines, by both parties on the disputes between the  
 church of *England* and the Non-conformists, and  
 particularly by the Bishop of *London*, to whom he  
 wrote an answer dated at *Paris*, *November 29th*  
 1680 N. S. which being printed in the appendix to  
 Dr. STILLINGFLEET’s *Unreasonableness of Separation*<sup>c</sup>  
 at *London* 1681, contrary to his design or expecta-  
 tion of seeing it made public, he wrote another let-  
 ter<sup>d</sup> to a lady from *Paris*, *April 16th* 1681, in which  
 he farther explained his sentiments upon the subject  
 of his former letter, condemning the excesses of both  
 sides, and wishing, that they would submit to a just  
 and reasonable accommodation.

The next letter of the Dean to Mr. NELSON, then  
 at *Saumur*, was written from *London* on the second  
 of *June* 1681, and relates to the main subject of his  
 former, the offer to that gentleman of a place at  
 court. “ I wish, *says he*, your good opinion of my  
 “ judgment were as well-grounded, as that of my  
 “ sincere friendship and affection for you most cer-  
 “ tainly is. Your mother is perfectly well satisfied,  
 “ as I told her she had great reason, since you re-  
 “ ferr’d yourself to the advice and judgment of your  
 “ friends ; by which I assured her you would most  
 “ certainly govern your resolution. I shall be glad  
 “ to see *England* so happy, as that the court may  
 “ be a fit place for you to live in. I waited on the  
 “ Ambassador, and made the best acknowledgments  
 “ to him I could of his great favours and civilities  
 “ to you, and particularly in that kind offer he had  
 G 3 “ made

<sup>b</sup> The Dissenters,

<sup>c</sup> P. 427.

<sup>d</sup> Oeuvres post-  
 humes de Monsr. CLAUDE, tom. V. p. 264, &c.

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“ made you. But I told him, that your friends had  
 “ no mind to it, especially as things now are ; and I  
 “ knew you would do nothing against their inclination : with which he was well satisfied, declaring  
 “ the very great kindness and esteem he had for you,  
 “ and for your friend Mr. HALLEY ; in which I  
 “ did not contradict him.”

The sincere concern, which the Dean always felt for his friends, made him neglect no opportunities of suggesting to them proper advice, when their virtue, reputation, or interest required such an interposition : and this office he knew how to discharge with all the skill and delicacy necessary to prevent any just offence. Of this kind is the following letter, enter'd in short-hand in his common place-book, written to Sir THOMAS COLEPEPPER, Bart. of *Kent*, and dated *July 12th, 1681.*

“ HONOUR'D SIR,

“ I Was heartily troubled, I was from home when  
 “ you did me the honour of a visit in *London* ;  
 “ and the more, because I lost the opportunity I had  
 “ long wish'd for, of having some discourse with  
 “ you in relation to yourself ; being so perfectly  
 “ persuaded of your good disposition, as to believe  
 “ you would not take it amiss, that I, who have  
 “ known you from your tender years, and been  
 “ always a great well-wisher to your family, should  
 “ be concerned for your welfare. And, to tell you  
 “ the truth, I waited upon you at your lodgings  
 “ with a design to obtain your leave, humbly to offer  
 “ some advice to you ; which I then forbore to  
 “ do, because I could not in civility detain you so  
 “ long undrest. What I could not then say, I crave  
 “ leave now to write.

“ I remember, I said to you, that I had hoped,  
 “ before that time to have seen you married and settled at *Canterbury*. Not that I had in my mind



“ any body to propose to you ; but because I consider’d, that the hopes of your family rested upon you ; and, if you will give me leave to use so much freedom, that you are now in the slippery and dangerous part of life, exposed to many and powerful temptations, especially in so licentious an age. And therefore I should have been glad to have seen you secured against this danger by that means.

“ I doubt not, but you believe and consider, that after this there is another life ; to secure the happiness whereof, no care, no diligence can be too great : and I have good hope, that you are not yet entangled in any very bad course. But if any of the vices, to which youth is incident, have gained never so little upon you, for God’s sake, and your own, resolve presently to rescue your life. Ask pardon of God for what is past, and the assistance of his grace for the future : neither of which he will deny to a sincere and well resolved mind.

“ And be pleased to consider, that the farther men proceed in any thing that is bad, they put themselves so much the more out of God’s protection, and their own power ; and their retreat must every day become more difficult. But above all, that whatever the pleasure of *sin* may be, it cannot be a wise thing to please ourselves for a little while, at the intolerable price of being miserable for ever.

“ You see, Sir, that I am contented to venture your displeasure to prevent your danger ; and yet I promise myself, that your goodness and patience will pardon the presumption of this advice, when I have told you, that it proceedeth from so much good-will, that if your own good had been to counsel you, though he would have done it with more skill, he could not have done

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“ it with more kindness. I pray GOD it may have  
 “ the effect, which I so earnestly wish. I intreat you  
 “ to give my very humble service to my Lady,  
 “ your mother, and to believe, that I am with the  
 “ greatest sincerity and respect, SIR,

“ Your most faithful and humble servant,

“ J. T.”

During the course of this summer, he lost ELIZABETH, the younger of his two daughters ; upon which occasion Mr. NELSON having condoled with him in one of his letters, the Dean in his answer from *London November 7, 1681*, thanked that gentleman for his compassionate sense of his loss, “ which, “ *says he*, went very near me. But GOD’s will is “ always best, and I have no doubt but she is infinitely more happy and safe, than she could have “ been in any condition in this world. It hath “ pleased GOD since that, to add another great affliction by the death of my worthy friend Dr. “ BURTON. About ten days ago Mr. GOUGE, another excellent man, died in his sleep, as is “ thought of apoplexy. But I ought not to entertain “ you with such dismal things, if I had any thing “ better to write you from hence.”

The death of Mr. THOMAS GOUGE called upon the Dean to perform the last duty to his memory, by preaching his funeral sermon on the 4th of *November* at *St. Ann’s Blackfryars*, in which he has done justice to the character of that pious and charitable man, who had been Vicar of *St. Sepulchre’s* in *London* about four and twenty years, till he was ejected in 1662 for not submitting to the act of uniformity. He insists with a peculiar satisfaction upon Mr. GOUGE’s “ disposition ready to embrace and oblige all men ; “ allowing others to differ from him, even in opinions, that were very dear to him ; and provided “ men

“ men did but fear God, and work righteousness,  
 “ he loved them heartily, how distant soever from  
 “ him in judgment about things less necessary : In  
 “ all which he is very worthy to be a pattern for  
 “ men of all persuasions whatsoever.” But Mr.  
 GOUGE’s most eminent distinction was his unwearied  
 diligence in doing good, in which he had a most sin-  
 gular sagacity and prudence in contriving the most  
 effectual means for it ; one branch of which was  
 the procuring the *bible*, *liturgy*, *whole duty of man*,  
 and other good books, to be printed in the *Welsh* lan-  
 guage, and dispersed among the people of that coun-  
 try ; towards the impression of the first of which the  
 Dean himself contributed fifty pounds\*.

The suspicion and danger of that time prevented  
 him from entering into a detail of facts or reasonings  
 upon public affairs in letters, which were to travel  
 so far as those to Mr. NELSON ; and in that above-  
 cited he only says, “ we are, as you left us, between  
 “ hope and fear what will become of us. The Earl  
 “ of *Shaftsbury* makes most discourse at present,  
 “ whose trial or enlargement is expected some time  
 “ this term.” That Earl had been committed to  
 the *Tower* on the second of *July*, 1681, for High-  
 treason ; and though the grand jury had found the  
 bill against him *ignoramus* on the 24th of *Novem-*  
*ber*, yet he was not discharged from his bail till the  
 13th of *February* following ; and in *November* 1682,  
 he retired to *Holland*, where he died at the age of  
 sixty-two, on the 22d of *January* 168 $\frac{2}{3}$ .

Mr. NELSON being returned to *Paris*, in his way  
 home, the Dean wrote to him from *London* on the  
 5th of *July* 1682, in which letter he speaks of the  
 situation of the public as *full of distraction and dis-*  
*content* ; and observes, that he had heard of Monsieur  
 ARNAUD’s book about the plot, but had not seen  
 it ;

\* Life of Mr. THOMAS FIRMIN, p. 50. edit. London,  
 1698.

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it; and adds, " it is much so wise a man should  
 " think fit to intermeddle in the affairs of another  
 " country, and of which he can but have a partial  
 " information." This book of Monsieur ARNAUD,  
 Doctor of *Sorbonne*, is intitled, *Apologie pour les*  
*Catholiques*, designed as an answer to *La politique*  
*du clergé de France*. The learned author, who still  
 retained the utmost devotion to the church of *Rome*,  
 of which he was one of the ablest advocates in his  
 time, notwithstanding his persecutions from the  
 Jesuits on account of his attachment to Jansenism,  
 which oblig'd him to leave *France* in 1679, attempts  
 here to remove the imputation of a seditious spirit  
 from the professors of that church, and to transfer  
 it upon the Protestants, and to demonstrate the  
 whole Popish plot in *England* to be the mere inven-  
 tion of TITUS OATES.

The thoughts, which occasionally occurred to the  
 Dean upon subjects of importance, being sometimes  
 set down by him in short-hand in his common-place  
 book, I find the following remarks upon prayer,  
 under the date of *August 12, 1682*.

" Prayer.

" O thou that hearest, &c.

" Dr. WILKINS's *Natural religion, Sermons* and  
*Gift, &c.*

" Dr. BARROW, and Dr. BRIGHT.

" XENOPHON's Instit. SENECA. TULLY.

" No precept of prayer in the law of MOSES.

" Prayer is the most natural means of religion,  
 " which the word of God and sacraments are of.

" Prayer is the most spiritual means of religion,  
 " because it is immediate converse with God.

" Prayer is that, which sanctifies all other means,  
 " and makes them effectual.

" Prayer



“ Prayer is a natural means to work those good  
“ dispositions in us we pray for, as well as a super-  
“ natural means.

“ Prayer of all the means of religion hath most of  
“ the end. It exercises our dependance upon God,  
“ our adoration and praise of him, and our charity  
“ to men.

“ Some of the means of religion are bare and  
“ dry means : but this comes near the end, and is  
“ a good degree of it.

“ That part, which consists in praise and thank-  
“ giving, will be our great work to all eternity.”

Being at *Canterbury* in *August* 1682, he was visited there by Mr. NELSON in his return from *France*, to whom the Dean expresses'd, in his letter of the 18th of that month, great solicitude to hear of that gentleman's safe arrival in *Gloucestershire*, whither he went to see his mother.

Two days after the date of this letter, a calamity of the most astonishing nature happened to an ancient and noble family, for which the Dean was interested by all the motives of friendship and esteem. FORD Lord GREY of *Werke*, who had married Lady MARY, fourth daughter of GEORGE Earl of *Berkley*, having gained the affection of her younger sister Lady HENRIETTA, then but eighteen years of age, found means to convey her away from *Durdens* near *Epsom* in *Surry* on the 20th of *August* 1682. The Dean, upon the first knowledge of it, resolved to try what effect a strong and pathetic representation of her crime and its consequences might make on a young mind, before it should lose its sensibility by engaging too far in an habit of vice; for which purpose he wrote to her the following letter<sup>f</sup>.

“ THO’

<sup>f</sup> From a copy in Mr. NELSON's hand-writing, among the letters of Archbishop TILLOTSON to that gentleman, communicated to me by the late Dr. HUGHES.

“ **T**H O’ I have found by experience, that  
 “ good counsel is, for the most part, cast  
 “ away upon those, who have plunged themselves  
 “ so deep into a bad course, as, to my great grief  
 “ and amazement, I understand your Ladyship has  
 “ done ; yet the concernment I have always had  
 “ for the honour and welfare of your noble family,  
 “ and the compassion I have for you, whom I look  
 “ upon as one of the greatest objects of pity in  
 “ this world, will not suffer me to leave any means  
 “ untry’d, that may conduce to your recovery out  
 “ of that wicked and wretched condition, in which  
 “ you are. And therefore I beg of you for God’s  
 “ sake and your own, to give me leave plainly to  
 “ represent to you the heinousness of your fault,  
 “ with the certain and dismal consequences of your  
 “ continuance in it. And it is of that heinous na-  
 “ ture, as to be, for aught I know, without exam-  
 “ ple in this or any other Christian nation, and hath  
 “ in it all possible aggravations, of guilt towards  
 “ God, of dishonour to yourself, of a most outra-  
 “ geous injury and affront to your sister, of reproach  
 “ and stain to your family, of most cruel ingrat-  
 “ titude to as kind and indulgent parents, as any  
 “ child ever had ; of which I am a witness, as I have  
 “ since been of the deep wound and affliction you  
 “ have given them, to that degree, as would grieve  
 “ the heart of a stranger, and ought surely to make  
 “ a much deeper impression upon you, their child,  
 “ who have been the cause of it.

“ Consider of it, as you will answer it at the  
 “ judgment of the great day ; and now you have  
 “ done what you can to ruin your reputation, think  
 “ of saving your soul ; and do not, to please your-  
 “ self, or any body else, for a little while, ven-  
 “ ture to be miserable for ever, as you will most  
 “ certainly be, if you go on in this course. Nay,  
 “ I doubt not but that you will be very miserable  
 “ in

“ in this world, not only from the severe reflections  
 “ of your own mind, but from the distress you  
 “ will be reduced to, when after a while you will in  
 “ all probability be despised, and hated, and for-  
 “ saken by him, for whose sake you have made  
 “ yourself odious to all the world. Before this  
 “ happen, think of reconciling yourself to God,  
 “ and to your best friends under him, your parents,  
 “ of whose kindness and tenderness you have had  
 “ that experience, that you have little reason to  
 “ fear their cruelty and rigour.

“ Despise not this advice, which is now tendered  
 “ to you out of great charity and good will : And  
 “ I pray God it may be effectual to bring you to  
 “ repentance and a better mind.

“ I have but one thing more to beg of you, that  
 “ you would be pleased by a line or two to let me  
 “ understand, that you have read and consider’d  
 “ this letter from,

“ Madam, Your Ladyship’s

“ most faithful and humble servant,

“ Jo. TILLOTSON.”

It is very possible, that this letter might not reach the hand of the unfortunate lady, surrounded as she was with persons intirely in the interest of her lover, who, in order to secure her more effectually to himself, married her some time after to Mr. TURNER, a dependant of his, who claimed her as his wife, when she was demanded by her father after the trial of Lord GREY for seducing her, on the 23d of *November* following, when a verdict was given against his Lordship, tho’ the matter being compromised before the next term, no judgment passed, the Attorney-general entering a *noli prosequi* \*. She afterwards with her husband accompanied his Lordship

\* State-trials, vol. III.

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Lordship into *Holland*, when he fled thither in *June* 1683, upon the detection of the *Rye-house* plot, after escaping from the Serjeant, who had taken him into custody on the 26th of that month for high-treason, and whom he left sleeping in his Lordship's own coach in their way to the *Tower*. His estate being forfeited, part of it was granted on the 2d of *December* 1684 to his father-in-law the Earl of *Berkley*, for the use of his wife, by whom he had only one child, a daughter. He returned to *England* with the Duke of *Monmouth* in *June* 1685; but was on good grounds suspected of treachery to his Grace, and purchased his own pardon by an ample confession. However, he recovered interest enough after the revolution to be created Viscount *Glendale* and Earl of *Tankerville* in *May* 1695, and appointed First-commissioner of the Treasury, and one of the Lords-justices during his Majesty's absence in *June* 1700, and Lord-privy-seal on the 5th of *November* the same year; dying on the 25th of *June* the year following. But we have no account of the sequel of the history of his unhappy sister-in-law, whose disgrace forced her into retirement and obscurity, while her name was prostituted by one of the most licentious writers of her own sex, in that collection of letters pretended to have pass'd between her and her galant during the course of her criminal amour.

The Dean of *Canterbury* in 1682 gave the public, from the manuscripts of Bishop *WILKINS*, a volume in 8vo of fifteen sermons, which he introduc'd with a preface in defence of that Prelate's character against the reflections cast upon him in the *Historia & antiquitates universitatis Oxoniensis*, printed in 1674, whether by Mr. *ANTHONY WOOD*, whose name that work bears, or by some other hand, the Dean was not curious to know. But it is not improbable, that they were inserted by the direction of Dr. *FELL*, Bishop of *Oxford*, and Dean  
of



of *Christ-Church*, under whose inspection and patronage that book was publish'd; and they are not unsuitable to the known prejudices of that Prelate, who, though an eminent encourager of learning, and an excellent governor of his college, and of exemplary conduct in his episcopal character, yet from a sense perhaps of his own sufferings before the restoration, was capable of some excesses, in cases, wherein the interests of party could bias him, as is evident from the letters, which pass'd between him and the Earl of *Sunderland*, Secretary of State, in *November* 1684, relating to his expulsion of Mr. *Locke* from his Student's place in *Christ-Church*. The former part of Bishop *WILKINS's* character, in Mr. *Wood's* history, lib. 2. p. 376. is chiefly made up of invidious reflections upon his carriage, and the circumstances of his condition, in the times preceding the restoration; "in all which, says the  
 " *Dean*, because I did not then know him, I leave him  
 " to be vindicated or censured by those, who were  
 " witnesses of his whole behaviour and temper in  
 " that time." The latter part of it consists "of flat  
 " and ill-favour'd commendations; as, that he was  
 " *philosophiæ & mathematicæ addictissimus*, a great  
 " well-willer to philosophy and the mathematics;  
 " the exact character of an *empiric* and an *almanac-*  
 " *maker*, when these two excellencies happen to be  
 " in conjunction. And then that to the study of  
 " divinity he added *eloquentiam in concionando non*  
 " *contemnendam*, an eloquence in preaching *not to*  
 " *be despised*: which, though it be but a very cold  
 " and slender commendation both of his divinity and  
 " eloquence, yet I must own something of kindness in it, because there is in good earnest a sort  
 " of eloquence in preaching, that is to be despised.  
 " To finish the kindness, and that nothing might  
 " be omitted, that might any ways cast an odium  
 " upon him, as he is placed next before Mr.  
 " *HOBBS,*

“ HOBBS, so I cannot but observe in comparing  
 “ their characters, that there is apparently far less  
 “ of envy and detraction in that of Mr. HOBBS,  
 “ than in this of the reverend Bishop, for which I  
 “ can imagine no other reason but this, that Mr.  
 “ HOBBS was then alive<sup>b</sup> to speak for himself;  
 “ but *the dead bite not.*” The Dean then remarks,  
 that it has been often no small wonder to him,  
 whence it should come to pass, that so great a man,  
 and so great a lover of mankind, who had the in-  
 clination, the skill, and the opportunity to oblige  
 so very many, and was so highly valued and reve-  
 renced by all who knew him, should yet have the  
 hard fate to fall under the heavy displeasure and  
 censure of those, who knew him not; and that he,  
 who never did any thing to make himself one per-  
 sonal enemy, should have the ill fortune to have so  
 many. “ I think, *adds he*, I may truly say, that  
 “ there are, or have been, very few in this age and  
 “ nation so well known, and so greatly esteemed  
 “ and favoured, first by a judicious Prince, and  
 “ then by so many persons of high rank and qua-  
 “ lity, and of singular worth and eminency in all  
 “ the learned professions, as our author was. And  
 “ this surely cannot be denied him, it is so well  
 “ known to many worthy persons yet living, and  
 “ hath been so often acknowledged even by his  
 “ enemies, that in the late times of confusion, al-  
 “ most all that was preserved and kept up of inge-  
 “ nuity and learning, of good order and govern-  
 “ ment in the university of *Oxford*, was chiefly owing  
 “ to his prudent conduct and encouragement.” His  
 inducement to the publishing of the Bishop’s ser-  
 mons was, because, though there be many sermons,  
 yet there are not many such, whether we consider  
 in them the usefulness and weight of the matters  
 treated of, or the suitable manner of handling them  
 in

<sup>b</sup> He died *December 4. 1679.*

in a style of so much clearness, and closeness, and strength, as was fitted (as the Bishop himself us'd to wish) *to the capacity of the weakest, and the conviction of the strongest*; or the solid and well-poised judgment of the author in points of difficulty; or, lastly, the admirable candor and moderation of his temper in matters of difference and dispute. "And I purposely, *says the Dean*, mention his moderation, and likewise adventure to commend him for it, notwithstanding that this virtue, so much esteemed and magnified by wise men in all ages, hath of late been declaimed against with so much zeal and fierceness, and yet with that good grace and confidence, as if it were not only no virtue, but even the sum and abridgment of all vices. I say, notwithstanding all this, I am still of the old opinion, that moderation is a virtue, and one of the peculiar ornaments and advantages of the excellent constitutions of our church, and must at last be the temper of her members, especially the clergy, if ever we seriously intend the firm establishment of this church, and do not industriously design, by cherishing heats and divisions among ourselves, to let in Popery at these breaches."

The same year 1683 Mr. DANIEL WHITEBY, Præcentor of the church of Sarum, urg'd the authority of our Dean in favour of a scheme, which he zealously recommended in his *Protestant Reconciler*, printed at London 1683, *humly pleading for condescension to dissenting brethren, in things indifferent and unnecessary, for the sake of peace; and shewing how unreasonable it is to make such things the necessary conditions of communion*. The passage cited from the Dean is in his sermon on *John xiii. 34, 35*, preached on the third of December 1678, at the first general meeting of the gentlemen and others born within the county of York. In this sermon he re-

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marks,

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marks, that nothing can be a bulwark of sufficient force to resist all the arts and attempts of Popery, but an establish'd national religion, firmly united and compacted in all the parts of it; and that little sects and separate congregations can never do it, but will be like a foundation of sand to a weighty building; which, whatever shew it makes, cannot stand long, because it wants union at the foundation, and for that reason must necessarily want strength and firmness. He then proceeds in the words quoted in *The Protestant reconciler*<sup>1</sup>: "It is not for private persons to undertake in matters of public concernment, but I think we have no cause to doubt but the governors of our church (notwithstanding all the advantages of authority, and, we think, of reason too on our side) are persons of that piety and prudence, that for peace sake, and, in order to a firm union among Protestants, they would be content, if that would do it, not to insist upon little things, but to yield them up, whether to the infirmity, or importunity, or perhaps, in some very few things, to the plausible exceptions of those, who differ from us." In a copy of the *Protestant Reconciler* in my possession, greatly improv'd throughout by the author's own hand, in the margin of this quotation from Dr. TILLOTSON's excellent sermon, as he styles it, Mr. WHITBY has inserted some short notes; as upon the words, *it is not for private persons to undertake*, he adds, *but only modestly and humbly offer*; upon the words, *we think of reason too*, his remark is, *except in some few things*; and upon these, *in order to a firm union among Protestants*, his observation is, *at which the Protestant Reconciler only aims*. But however well intended the aim was of this learned writer, whose paraphrase and commentary on the New testament is sufficient to recommend him to posterity, even  
separate

<sup>1</sup> Preface, p. 19.



separate from his other works, which are considerable in number and value; yet his book gave such high offence at its first publication, that it was condemn'd by the university of *Oxford* on the 21st of *July* 1683, and burnt by the hands of the university-marshal in the schools quadrangle; and Mr. WHITBY himself being discovered to be the author (for he had printed it without his name) he was obliged by Dr. SETH WARD, Bishop of *Salisbury*, whose Chaplain he then was, to make a public retraction of it on the 9th of *October* following: And the same year, to remove the clamour raised against the first part of his book, he published a second, *earnestly persuading the dissenting laity to join in full communion with the church of England, and answering all the objections of the Non-conformists against the lawfulness of the submission to the rites and constitutions of that church.*

The task of preparing the sermons of Dr. BARROW for the press, which had employed the Dean for several years, and cost him as much pains, as would have produced many more of his own<sup>k</sup>, was now finish'd, and the edition published at *London* in 1683. in folio, with an account of the author by ABRAHAM HILL, Esq; who had been left by him joint-executor with the Dean, to whom that account is address'd, as materials for a more compleat life, which Mr. HILL and the public equally wished might be undertaken by an hand capable of setting so exalted a genius and so amiable a character, as Dr. BARROW's, in their proper light and just proportions, since, as he observes himself in his *preface*, the picture of that truly great man deserv'd to be drawn at full length for the knowledge and imitation of posterity. The narrow limits of a preface prevented the Dean from so much as even attempt-

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<sup>k</sup> Account of the Life of Dr. BARROW, by ABRAHAM HILL, Esq;

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ing the character of his incomparable friend, of whom either not a little, or nothing at all, ought to be said. He only advertises the reader theretore of some particulars relating to his sermons, and concludes with remarking, that as they want no other kind of excellency, so particularly they are animated throughout with so genuine a spirit of true piety and goodness, that he must either be a perfectly good, or prodigiously bad man, who can read them over without being the better for them. Those sermons, which he is fullest in his commendations of, are the *ten* upon the vices of the tongue, and the *two* against *pragmaticalness* and meddling in the affairs of others; a subject, which has an immediate connexion with the other, since that vice is chiefly managed by the tongue, and almost always attended with some irregularity and indiscretion of speech. And Dr. BARROW had a peculiar right to expose faults of that kind, “ being of all men, I ever knew, *says the* “ *Dean*, the clearest from this common guilt, and “ most free from *offending in word*, coming as near, “ as is possible for human frailty to do, to the perfect idea of St. JAMES’s *perfect man*: so that in “ these excellent discourses of his, he hath only transcribed his own practice. All the rules, which “ he hath given, he most religiously observed himself, and was very uneasy, when at any time he “ saw them transgressed by others in his company.”

The laborious office of editor of such voluminous writings as those of Dr. BARROW, undertaken by one, who had many years before appeared himself to so much advantage as an original writer, was as clear an evidence of the modesty, as it was of the friendship of the Dean: And yet his own merit has been sometimes attempted to be lessened by a suggestion, started perhaps through envy, and propagated through haste and inadvertency, that great part of his excellence as a preacher was owing to his

use of the works of his friend. But not to insist on the prodigious difference of their manner and stile, the slightest attention to the chronology of the lives of those great men is sufficient to confute such a suspicion. For Dr. TILLOTSON was eminent in his profession as early as the year 1663, and had given the public the first volume of his sermons in 1671, in which the first and only sermon published by Dr. BARROW appear'd; the impression of that upon *the passion of our Saviour* not being finished at his death. Nor had the latter leisure to apply himself thoroughly to theological studies, being engaged in those of a very different kind, till his resignation of the *Lucasian* professorship of mathematics at *Cambridge* on the 8th of *November* 1670, to his immortal pupil, Mr. ISAAC NEWTON.

Dr. BENJAMIN WHICHCOT, Vicar of *St. Lawrence Jewry*, dying in *May* of this year 1683 in the 73d year of his age, at the house of Dr. CUDWORTH, Master of *Christ's-College Cambridge*, the Dean preach'd on the 24th of that month a sermon at his funeral, worthy both of himself and his deceased friend; who wanted indeed no other memorial than his own writings, one volume of which, intitled *Select discourses*, was published by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, author of the *Characteristics* in 1698, three others by Dr. JOHN JEFFERY, Archdeacon of *Norwich* in 1701 and 1702, and a fifth by Dr. SAMUEL CLARKE.

The discovery of the *Rye-house* plot, in *June* the same year 1683, opened a very melancholy scene, in which the Dean had a large share of distress, on account both of his friendships and his concern for the public. One of the principal objects of his solicitude and anxiety was WILLIAM Lord RUSSEL, eldest son of WILLIAM Earl, and after the revolution Duke, of *Bedford*. His Lordship having shewn to warm a zeal for the bill of Exclusion, which he

had moved for in the house of Commons in the beginning of *November* 1680, had little reason, notwithstanding the integrity of his own personal character, and the dignity and weight of his family and its connections, to expect any favour from the court. He was committed to the *Tower* on the 26th of *June*, and brought to his trial at the *Old Baily* on *Friday* the 13th of *July*, where he was found guilty of high treason. The Dean appear'd as a witness for his Lordship's character at his trial, declaring, that he had been many years past acquainted with him, and had always judg'd him a person of great virtue and integrity, and very far from any such wicked design, as he stood charg'd with. And after Lord *RUSSEL*'s condemnation, the Dean and Dr. *BURNET* were sent for by his Lordship, and they both continued their attendance upon him till his death; the day before which, the Dean deliver'd to him a letter, in which he endeavour'd to persuade him to what he had some days before in vain attempted, a declaration against the lawfulness of resistance. This letter, which was a few days after, contrary to the writer's inclination, published to the world, as it has been often since, was in these terms :

“ MY LORD,

“ I Was heartily glad to see your Lordship this  
 “ morning in that calm and devout temper at  
 “ receiving the Sacrament. But peace of mind,  
 “ unless it be well-grounded, will avail little. And  
 “ because transient discourse many times hath little  
 “ effect for want of time to weigh and consider it,  
 “ therefore in tender compassion of your Lordship's  
 “ case, and from all the good-will, that one man  
 “ can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your  
 “ Lordship's deliberate thoughts these following  
 “ considerations concerning the point of resistance,

“ if



“ if our religion and rights should be invaded, as  
 “ your Lordship puts the case, concerning which I  
 “ understood by Dr. BURNET, that your Lordship  
 “ had once received satisfaction, and am sorry to  
 “ find a change.

“ First, that the Christian religion doth plainly  
 “ forbid the resistance of authority.

“ Secondly, that tho’ our religion be established  
 “ by law, (which your Lordship argues as a differ-  
 “ ence between our case and that of the primitive  
 “ Christians) yet in the same law, which establishes  
 “ our religion, it is declared, *that it is not lawful*  
 “ *upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms, &c.*  
 “ Besides that, there is a particular law declaring the  
 “ power of the militia to be solely in the King.  
 “ And this ties the hands of subjects, tho’ the law  
 “ of nature and the general rules of Scripture had  
 “ left us at liberty, which I believe they do not, be-  
 “ cause the government and peace of human society  
 “ could not well subsist upon these terms.

“ Thirdly, your Lordship’s opinion is contrary  
 “ to the declared doctrine of all Protestant churches.  
 “ And tho’ some particular persons have thought  
 “ otherwise, yet they have been contradicted herein,  
 “ and condemned for it, by the generality of Pro-  
 “ testants. And I beg of your Lordship to consider,  
 “ how it will agree with an avowed asserting of the  
 “ Protestant religion, to go contrary to the general  
 “ doctrine of the Protestants.

“ My end in this is to convince your Lordship,  
 “ that you are in a very great and dangerous mistake ;  
 “ and being so convinc’d, that, which before was a  
 “ sin of ignorance, will appear of a much more hei-  
 “ nous nature, as in truth it is, and call for a very  
 “ particular and deep repentance ; which if your  
 “ Lordship sincerely exercise upon the sight of your  
 “ error, by a penitent acknowledgment of it to God  
 “ and men, you will not only obtain forgiveness of

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“ God, but prevent a mighty scandal to the re-  
 “ formed religion.

“ I am very loth to give your Lordship any dis-  
 “ quiet in the distress you are in, which I commi-  
 “ ferate from my heart ; but am much more con-  
 “ cerned, that you do not leave the world in a delu-  
 “ sion and false peace, to the hindrance of your e-  
 “ ternal happiness.

“ I heartily pray for you, and beseech your Lord-  
 “ ship to believe, that I am, with the greatest sincer-  
 “ ity and compassion in the world,

“ MY LORD,

July 20.  
 1683.

“ Your Lordship’s most  
 “ faithful and afflicted servant,

“ JOHN TILLOTSON.”

The principles of this letter were the ground of those expressions, which he us’d in his prayer with his Lordship on the scaffold in *Lincoln’s-Inn-fields*, on *Saturday* the 21<sup>st</sup> of *July*; “ Grant that all we, “ who survive, by this and other instances of thy “ providence, may learn our duty to God and the “ King.” And this prayer, as well as his letter, were consider’d by the court as such a sanction to their favourite doctrines and measures, that Mr. ROGER L’ESTRANGE was furnished with copies of them, inserted by him in his *Considerations upon a printed sheet, entituled, ‘The speech of the late Lord RUSSEL to the sheriffs’*; in which he gives an account of the Dean’s *pious and friendly visits* to his Lordship<sup>m</sup>, and commends him<sup>n</sup> for *discharging himself from first to last in all the parts of a churchman and of a friend*.

But what pass’d in his attendance upon Lord RUSSEL, and the motives and circumstances of his writing

<sup>l</sup> Printed at London, 1683, in 4to, p. 49, 50, 51.

<sup>m</sup> P. 47.

<sup>n</sup> P. 48, 49.

writing that letter, will be best learn'd from the Dean's own examination after the revolution, before a committee of the House of Lords<sup>o</sup>, appointed on the 2d of *November* 1689, to consider, who were the advisers and prosecutors of the murders of the Lord RUSSEL, Colonel SIDNEY, Sir THO. ARMSTRONG, and others ; and who were the advisers of issuing out writs of *Quo warranto's* against corporations ; and who were their regulators ; and also who were the public assertors of the dispensing power. The Dean being summon'd, among others, to attend this committee, was examin'd on the 18th of *November* 1689, and inform'd their Lordships, that he wrote a letter to the Lord RUSSEL the day before his Lordship's death, and shew'd it to the Lord HALLIFAX the evening on which he wrote it ; and that he wrote it merely of himself ; but did not publish it, the publication of it being much against his will ; nor did he know by what order it was publish'd. That Dr. BURNET coming from the Lord RUSSEL, had told him, that he believ'd he had brought his Lordship to a willingness to declare his satisfaction in that point, to which the letter relates ; and desired him, the Dean, to go to the Lord HALLIFAX, and acquaint him with it, that his Lordship might mitigate the thing to the King, and so be a means to save the Lord RUSSEL's life. Lord HALLIFAX promised the Dean to do it, and the next day said he had done it, and that the King seem'd to be more moved with it, than by any thing else, that he had said before. On the *Thursday* after the Dean waited on the Lord RUSSEL, and told him, that he was very glad to hear, that his Lordship was so well satisfied on that point, hoping he would improve it to his advantage : but his Lordship's answer was, that he was not so clearly convinc'd in that matter. The Dean in reply told his Lordship, that

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<sup>o</sup> Journal of the house of Lords.

he was very sorry for it, because the message had been carried to the King, that his Lordship was convinc'd of it, and would declare it at his death ; for so he had been inform'd. His Lordship said, that Dr. BURNET had discoursed much with him about it, and that he was willing to be convinced, but yet could not say, that he absolutely was. The Dean was much troubled at this for his own sake, as well as his Lordship's, because he had been the occasion of sending a message to the King, which seemed to contradict him. Hereupon the next day, which was *Friday*, he wrote the letter, which he carried with him to Lord RUSSEL, fearing, that being so near the time of his suffering, his relations would be with his Lordship, and so he might not have the opportunity of speaking with his Lordship himself. But when he came, he found none there with him but his Lady. He told his Lordship what he intended, that since his time was so very short, he rather chose to give him that letter, than to trouble him with a long discourse. His Lordship receiving it, rose up, and went into an inner room, and after staying there some time, upon his return told the Dean, that he had read the letter, and was willing to be convinc'd, but could not say, that he was so ; and that it was not a time to trouble himself with politics ; but that though he was in an error, yet being willing to be convinc'd, he hoped that God would forgive him. To which the Dean answer'd, that he hoped so too ; and after a little discourse of that matter, told his Lordship, he would trouble him about it no more : nor did he ; but after his Lordship came out of the room, he gave the Dean his letter again ; who upon leaving his Lordship went to the Lord HALLIFAX, whom he told, that he was sorry, that he had begg'd his Lordship's favour to employ himself in the message to the King, not finding the Lord RUSSEL so fully satisfied, as Dr. BURNET believed he was, though



though he had endeavour'd to give his Lordship satisfaction in the matter, and had written a letter to that purpose, which he delivered into his own hands himself. He then shewed the letter to Lord HALLIFAX, and just as he began to read it, one of his Lordship's servants came in, and told him, that a foreign or *Spanish* Embassador was coming in. Upon which the Dean told the Lord HALLIFAX, that he must leave the letter with his Lordship. The next day, being that of the Lord RUSSEL's suffering, the Dean attended him on the scaffold, and did not speak with the Lord HALLIFAX till some days after ; and the reason, why he applied to his Lordship before, was, because he believed that his Lordship would do the Lord RUSSEL all the good he could. The day after that Lord's death, the Dean was commanded to appear at the Cabinet-council, which he did ; and there the King, the Duke of YORK, the Lord keeper NORTH, the Duke of ORMOND, the Lord HALLIFAX, the Lord ROCHESTER, and Sir LEOLINE JENKINS, were present. The King asked the Dean, whether he had any hand in the paper, which was publish'd in the Lord RUSSEL's name : to which he answered, that he had not. After which his Majesty seemed to be satisfied. The next day Mr. ROGER L'ESTRANGE came to the Dean, and told him, that he was order'd to shew him a letter, and ask'd him, whether it was his, or no. The Dean having given no copy of his letter, though he kept one in short-hand, desired Mr. L'ESTRANGE to read the letter, which he shewed him ; and when he read it, the Dean told him that it was his, except two or three words, which he shew'd Mr. L'Estrange to alter. He believ'd, that copy was in that gentleman's hand-writing, and told him, that he was very sorry, that it was to be publish'd ; and that if it were in his own power, it should not. Some day in the week following, the first time he spoke with  
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the Lord HALLIFAX, he asked his Lordship, how his letter came to be publish'd. To which he was answer'd, that upon the coming out of the Lord RUSSEL's paper, there was such a storm rais'd in the court against Dr. BURNET and the Dean, that his Lordship, in kindness to the latter, shew'd the King his letter; and it passing through several hands, it became out of his power to retrieve it. His Lordship said, that he had this reason to believe, that he had left it in the King's hands, because the Duke of YORK that *Sunday* (being the day after the Lord RUSSEL's death) at the Cabinet-council spoke of this letter; but the Dean knew nothing of the publishing of it, nor by whom, nor did he speak to the Lord HALLIFAX between the time of the delivery of the letter and the publishing of it. The Dean added, that his Lordship shew'd a very compassionate concern for the Lord RUSSEL, and all the readiness to serve him, that could be wish'd; and that the Lord RUSSEL desired him, the Dean, to give his thanks to that Lord for his humanity and kindness to him, upon the Dean's informing the Lord RUSSEL of the Lord HALLIFAX's being so ready to carry that message to the King, which he had from Dr. BURNET.

To this examination of the Dean it will not be improper to subjoin some particulars from an original manuscript of Dr. BURNET, intitled, *An account of all that passed between the late Lord RUSSEL and me, concerning his last speech and paper* \*; written at Lady RUSSEL's desire, and but just finished, when he was sent for before the Council the day after his Lordship's death, to be examined concerning that speech. In this account, which is the very *journal* mentioned by the Doctor in *The history of his own time*<sup>p</sup>; he observes, that upon his being sent for by that

\* Communicated to me by the right honorable the Lord CHARLES CAVENDISH, grandson to the Lord RUSSEL.

† Vol. I. p. 562.

that Lord, on *Monday July 16th 1683*, he thought, that by the ground, which he had gain'd in discoursing upon the subject of resistance, it would be easy to persuade his Lordship, that it was absolutely unlawful; tho' indeed he went no farther at first than he did at last. However the Doctor thinking, that the step, which his Lordship had made, gave farther hopes, told the Dean, that he believed, that his Lordship was convinced of that point. Lord RUSSEL persisting in his former opinion, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Dean and Doctor to alter it, added to the speech, which he was composing, the following passage, not now extant in the printed copy: "For my part, I cannot deny, but I have been of opinion, that a free nation like this might defend their religion and liberties, when invaded, and taken from them, tho' under pretence and colour of law. But some eminent and worthy divines, who have had the charity to be often with me, and whom I value and esteem to a very great degree, have offered me weighty reasons to persuade me, that faith and patience are the proper ways for the preservation of religion, and the method of the gospel is to suffer persecution rather than to use resistance. But if I have sinned in this, I hope God will not lay it to my charge, since he knows it was only a sin of ignorance." This being read to the Dean on *Friday morning July 20th*, he was sorry to find it so defective; but not having then leisure to speak to Lord RUSSEL of it, he return'd in the afternoon, and press'd his Lordship very earnestly to deliver himself more fully in that matter, and gave him a paper concerning it; and as he came out, meeting Dr. BURNET, desired him to urge the point home to his Lordship, and either to carry him farther, or to strike out the whole paragraph above-cited, since the conclusion of it was so cold; and wished, that the first part of it might be quite left out.

out. The Doctor accordingly discoursing Lord RUSSEL again upon the affair, his Lordship answered, that he could not say a lie, and he was sure, that the Dr. would not desire it; and he was sure, if he went farther, he must needs lie. He said, that he had not leisure now to study politics. That the notion, which he had of the laws and of the *English* government, was different from that of the two divines; yet he said, so far did he submit to them, and to the reasons which they had offer'd him, that he was willing to go so far as he had done, but he could not go farther without being disingenuous. And when at last the Dr. proposed the suppressing of the whole paragraph, he was very well satisfied, and said that his chief reason for putting it in, was to prevent any inconveniency, that might arise to them.

There is another account of the occasion of the writing the letter to Lord RUSSEL, and the circumstances of its publication, publish'd by Mr. ECHARD<sup>a</sup>, who pretends it to have been taken from the Dean's own mouth. This will be found indeed contradictory in several points to his own examination, inserted above; but as it supplies some few particulars not mentioned in that examination, especially as to what passed when he was called before the King in council, it may not be improper to give the whole here.

Two days before Lord RUSSEL's death, Dean TILLOTSON going to attend upon him, was suddenly stopp'd in the street by Dr. BURNET, who told him, that he had now some good hope of saving his Lordship's life, the main impediment of which being his avow'd principle, that resistance was in some cases lawful, he had convinced him of his mistake, and that he was ready to own his error in it. He therefore desired the Dean to go immediately to the Earl of *Hallifax*, and acquaint him with it, who would thereupon go again to the King, and use his utmost endeavours to obtain Lord RUSSEL's pardon.

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<sup>a</sup> Appendix to his history of England, p. 18.



The Dean went, and deliver'd his message to the Earl of *Hallifax*; but calling upon Lord RUSSEL in *Newgate* upon his return, was very much surpris'd and troubled to find him under no such conviction, as Dr. BURNET had hastily believ'd and reported him to be. The Dean vex'd and uneasy at what he had done, and willing to clear himself after the best manner, resolv'd the next day to try what he could to bring his Lordship to some change in his opinion. But it being the last day before the appointed execution, and not knowing whether he should be able to see his Lordship alone, he wrote the letter to him, and took it in his pocket, resolv'g, if he could not discourse with him, to desire him to read and consider it. He finding his Lordship alone, told him what he had done, and gave the letter to him, who read it with great deliberation, and acknowledged to him, that he had therein offer'd more to convince him, than he had ever met with before: That he was now satisfi'd nothing but a case of a very extraordinary nature could justify subjects in taking up arms against their prince: That he was fully of opinion, that no such cause had been given by the King to justify any such attempt against him. But still he thought such circumstances there might be, in which it would be lawful for them to resist. Being ask'd by the Dean, what these cases were, he answered, that he had not consider'd the matter so far and fully, and that he had other things more proper to be thought on at that time. On that same evening the Dean waited upon the Earl of *Hallifax*, to account to him what mistake he had been led into, and what he had done upon it; and the better to justify himself, shew'd him the very letter he had written to the Lord RUSSEL. While that Lord was reading it, Sir THOMAS CLARGES came in, and after a little time the Dean took leave of the Earl, who put the letter into his pocket, and promis'd to be answerable

swerable for it. But in the mean time Sir THOMAS not only found an opportunity to read it, but to take a copy of it : and from that copy (and it is thought by his means) it was soon after printed. On the evening of the next day, when Lord RUSSEL was executed, the Dean was sent for to the Cabinet-council, and carefully examined touching that Lord's behaviour before and at his death. The King particularly commended the Dean's letter, and wondered what could be said to it. He told his Majesty the Lord RUSSEL's opinion, that such circumstances there might be, in which it would be lawful to resist ; and farther intimated, as tho' it was his own, that it was not impossible to find out a case of exception, tho' he would not presently pretend to specify it. The Duke of YORK, who was willing to believe there was none, with some warmth urg'd him to name the case, and not being satisfied, the King more mildly said, " Brother, the Dean speaks like " an honest man, press him no farther." After which he informed his Majesty, that Lord RUSSEL had declared to him, that he was persuaded, that the King had never done any thing to justify any one in rebelling against him : That he had never any such thought himself, and kept company with those unhappy men, only to preserve the Duke of *Monmouth* from being led into any rash undertaking by them, and more particularly the Earl of *Shaftesbury*. Being then ask'd, why Lord RUSSEL did not discover their design to the King ? his answer was, that that Lord had said, he could not betray his friends, nor turn informer against them, while he saw there was no danger : But if things had come to a crisis, he would have contrived some notice to have been given the King of it ; and in case of violence, would himself have been ready to oppose them with his sword in his hand. The King himself confirmed the truth of the greatest part of this account, and in conclusion

sion said, JAMES (meaning the Duke of Monmouth) has told me the same thing.

The firmness of Lord RUSSEL in refusing the only means of purchasing his life from an exasperated court, by the least retractation of an opinion, of which his conscience was thoroughly persuaded, is the strongest proof of that integrity and virtue, which gave him so much weight and influence in his own time, and have endear'd him to posterity, being, as Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, no enemy to the prerogative, acknowledges, "a person in general repute of an honest worthy gentleman, without tricks, or private ambition." Dr. SPRAT, Bishop of Rochester, in his *True account and declaration of the horrid conspiracy against King CHARLES II.* by whose order it was written, though not publish'd till under his successor, has indeed describ'd his Lordship, "as a person carried away beyond his duty and allegiance, into this traiterous enterprise, by a vain air of popularity, and a wild suspicion of losing a great estate by an imaginary return of Popery." But this very writer declared afterwards, in his *Second letter to the Earl of Dorset*, dated March 26, 1689, that he lamented his Lordship's fall, after he was fully convinc'd by discourse with the Dean of Canterbury, of his great probity, and constant abhorrence of falsehood. And these were qualities, which his Lordship's excellent Lady, RACHEL, second daughter of that great and worthy statesman, THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY, Earl of Southampton, Lord-High-Treasurer after the Restoration till his death, represents as peculiarly eminent in him in her letters, of which a large collection is still extant, written with an uncommon force of style and sentiment. In one of them to Dr. JOHN

FITZ-

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs, p. 112

<sup>3</sup> P. 21. Edit. 1685. fol.

FITZ-WILLIAMS, a Divine, for whom she had a great esteem and friendship<sup>t</sup>, dated *July 21, 1685*, a few days after the defeat and death of the Duke of *Monmouth*, she declares her opinion, that his Grace's design had no connexion with any, in which Lord RUSSEL might be supposed to be engaged, and of which she was convinced he was innocent.

"I take this late wild attempt, *says she*, to be a  
 "new project not depending on, or being linkt in  
 "the least to any former design, if there was then  
 "any real one, which I am satisfied was not, no  
 "more than my own Lord confess'd, talk; and,  
 "it is possible, that talk going so far as to consider, if a remedy to supposed evils might be  
 "sought, how it could be formed. . . He had so  
 "just a soul, so firm, so good, he could not warp  
 "from such principles, that were so, unless misguided by his understanding, and that his own,  
 "not another's: for I dare say, as he could discern, he never went into any thing considerable,  
 "upon the mere submission to any one's particular  
 "judgment."

But whatever honour Lord RUSSEL might gain by his inflexibility against disowning the principle of resistance, the Dean of *Canterbury* and Dr. BURNET have been severely censur'd for urging him so strongly on that topic. It is not improbable, that neither of them had then sufficiently consider'd the point, with so much attention and exactness, as the subsequent measures of that reign, and the whole series of conduct of the following one, necessarily led them to do. The Doctor indeed informs us<sup>u</sup>, that, tho' the Dean was restrained by some particular considerations from mentioning in his letter to his Lordship the case of a total subversion of the

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<sup>t</sup> He had been Chaplain to her father, as he was afterwards to the Duke of *York*, Rector of *Cottenham* in *Cambridgeshire*, and Canon of *Windsor*, which preferments he lost after the revolution, upon his refusal of the oaths.

<sup>u</sup> *Reflections*, p. 38, 42. and p. 90.



constitution, which he thought would justify resistance; yet he did not decline to explain himself in that way, as often as there was occasion for it; and only differ'd from Lord RUSSEL in opinion with regard to the attempts already made upon the constitution, which he did not think just grounds of resistance; nor that remote fears and consequences, together with illegal practices, would authorise it: Whereas his Lordship declared, that upon this hypothesis " he did not see a difference between a legal and a *Turkish* government; and that in case of " a total subversion, it would be too late to resist." His Lordship's opinion upon the subject of resistance was justified by his Chaplain, Mr. SAMUEL JOHNSON, in a paper written soon after; the impression of which was seiz'd at the same time with his address to King JAMES II's army, tho' not intended to be publish'd at that time. The design of this paper was to shew, that *resistance may be used in case our religion and rights should be invaded*, as an answer to the Dean's letter to his Lordship; and it is reprinted among Mr. JOHNSON's *works*\*, who observes, that this opinion could not be wrested from his Lordship at his death, notwithstanding the disadvantages, at which he was taken, " when he " was practis'd upon to retract that opinion, and " to bequeath a legacy of slavery to his country." And indeed the Dean was so apprehensive of Lady RUSSEL's displeasure at his pressing his Lordship, tho' with the best intentions, upon that subject, that when he was first admitted to her after her Lord's death, he is said to have address'd her in this manner, that he first thanked God, and then her Ladyship, for that opportunity of justifying himself to her: and they soon returned to the terms of a cordial and unreserved friendship.

In 1684 the Dean performed again the office of an editor in the publication of the first volume,

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followed the next year by a second, of *Discourses*, full of excellent sentiments in a strong, clear, and unaffected style, from the manuscript notes of his friend Dr. HEZEKIAH BURTON, who had, by the Dean's interest with the Chapter of *St. Paul's*, been settled in the rectory of *Barnes* in *Surry* about a year before his death, which was occasioned by a malignant fever in *August* or *September* 1681. He had been educated in *Magdalen-College* in *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow, and an eminent tutor there, and was incorporated in the degree of Master of arts in the university of *Oxford* *July* 11th 1654\*. Entering into holy orders, he was ordain'd priest by Dr. ROBERT SANDERSON on the 13th of *February* 1660, at the church of *St. Botolph Aldersgate*; and upon the advancement of Sir ORLANDO BRIDGEMAN, who had been educated in the same college, to the post of Lord-keeper from that of Lord-chief-justice of the Common-pleas, upon the disgrace of the Earl of *Clarendon* in 1667, was appointed Chaplain to his Lordship, by whom he was presented to a Prebend of *Norwich* in *October* the same year, and to the Rectory of *St. George's* in *Southwark*, which he resign'd after he was presented to that of *Barnes*. His great modesty prevented him from publishing any thing in his life time, except the short *Alloquium ad lectorem*, prefix'd to the excellent treatise *De legibus naturæ* of Dr. CUMBERLAND, afterwards Bishop of *Peterborough*, who had been his Fellow-collegiate and Fellow-chaplain. The Dean has given us his character in the preface to the first volume of his *Discourses*, which, tho' they want the exactness, that they would have had, if they had been design'd and prepar'd for the press by the author's own hand, yet have the perfection chiefly aimed at by him, being well fitted to do good, and to make the reader wiser and better.

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\* WOOD. *Fasti Oxon*, vol. II. col. 107.

† KENNET's register and chronicle, p. 375.

For Dr. BURTON thoroughly understood the nature of religion, the excellent design, and the happy effects of it, where it is sincerely embraced and entertain'd; and he knew how to distinguish genuine and substantial piety from that which is counterfeit and superficial. He had likewise a just and lively sense of the vast concernment and importance of religion, both to the private and public, the present and future, the temporal and eternal happiness of mankind; which made him seek out all sorts of arguments to convince them of the absolute necessity and unspeakable advantages of religion, and all kinds of motives and inducements to persuade and allure them to the practice of it; that so, by one consideration or other, he might take hold of all capacities and tempers of men. His virtues and good qualities were as eminent as his abilities and learning, particularly his great piety towards God, the native simplicity of his mind and manners, the singular kindness of his conversation, and his chearful readiness to every good work. And the public sustained an irreparable loss by the death of him in the ripeness of his age, when he was capable of doing the greatest service to the church of God, "and in a time, *adds the Dean*, when he "was most likely to have contributed considerably "to it, as being by the incomparable sweetness of "his temper, and prudence of his behaviour, admirably fitted to allay those heats, which then "began to break out, but are since blown up to "all the degrees of a violent and implacable enmity, by the skill and industry of a crafty and "restless party among us, playing upon our weaknesses, and persuading us to receive odious names "of distinction, and to sling them like squibs and "fire-balls at one another, to make the *Philistines* "sport."

The accession of King JAMES II. to the throne, on the 6th of *February* 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ , was soon followed

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with such a prospect of danger to the religion and liberties of the nation, as filled the Dean with the deepest concern for both; tho' in the event the imprudence and violence of the measures pursued by that prince defeated his designs against them; a consequence foreseen by the wiser persons of his own religion. For Madam de MAINTENON complain'd <sup>z</sup> at the very time, that the Jesuits had precipitated things too much; their zeal being more commended by Father de la CHAISE than their prudence. And Mons. GOURVILLE, a man of great credit in the court of *France*, being asked by Madam HAMILTON, afterwards Duchess of *Tyrconnel*, then going to *England*, what answer she should return for him to the King, who would ask her what he said of the great progress, which he was making for the re-establishment of the Roman-Catholic religion in that kingdom, he desir'd her to tell the King, that if himself was Pope, his Majesty would have been excommunicated before that time, since he was going to ruin all the Catholics in *England*: And tho' what had been lately done in *France* might probably be his model, yet the case was very different; and that a better plan for him to have followed would have been, to have contented himself with favouring the Catholics upon all occasions, and so increasing their numbers, and to leave to his successors the task of reducing *England* by degrees under the Papal authority <sup>a</sup>.

The Dean's *Discourse against transubstantiation*, printed towards the end of King CHARLES II's life, and of which the fourth edition appeared in 1685, began the debate upon that doctrine, and gave occasion to several tracts on both sides of the question, published during the controversy with the Papists, which

<sup>z</sup> In a letter of *Sept.* 5. 1688. *Lettres de Madame de MAINTENON*, Tom. I. p. 210. *Edit.* 1752.

<sup>a</sup> *Memoires de Mons. DE GOURVILLE*, Tom. II. p. 254. *Edit.* Paris 1724. in 12°.



which subsisted through the rest of the short, but unhappy reign of King JAMES, and produced so many pieces, that the vast collection publish'd a few years ago, in three volumes in folio, under the direction of Dr. GIBSON Bishop of *London*, is only a part of those written by the Protestants; and even the catalogues of them drawn up by Dr. WAKE, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Dr. GEE, Dean of *Lincoln* and Prebendary of *Westminster*, and the latest by Mr. FRANCIS PECK, are defective in the titles of them. The most considerable of those publish'd against the Dean of *Canterbury's Discourses* were the two following, the former intitled, *Transubstantiation defended and proved from Scripture, in answer to the first part of a treatise intitled, A discourse against transubstantiation. the first part; published with allowance*, London 1687 in 4to. the *second part* of which never appear'd. The latter was publish'd there the same year in the same form, under the title of *an answer to A discourse against transubstantiation*; the author of which in his *introduction* says, that he thought himself oblig'd in Christian duty to endeavour a *discovery* of the Dean's *winning artifices*, and *h removal of his plausible appearances* in that discourse.

In the beginning of *March* 168 $\frac{4}{5}$  just after the accession of King JAMES to the crown, was publish'd *a Discourse against Purgatory*, printed at *London* in four sheets in 4to. This was then reported to be written by the Dean, and the translation of it gave such offence in *France*, that it was soon after publicly burnt there. But Mr. WOOD<sup>b</sup>, who mentions, that this discourse had been ascrib'd to Dr. TILLOTSON, has placed it among the writings of Mr. JOHN HARTCLIFFE.

The Dean had now a new reason for his zeal against the church of *Rome*, besides those of a more general

and public nature; and it was founded upon this incident. His friend Mr. NELSON, who had return'd from his travels abroad in the beginning of *August* 1682, had contracted there an acquaintance with Lady THEOPHILA LUCY, widow of Sir KINGS-MILL LUCY of *Broxburn* in *Hertfordshire*, Bart. and second daughter of GEORGE Earl of BERKLEY; who soon discover'd a strong passion for him. This concluded in a marriage after their arrival in *England*; but it was some time before she confess'd to Mr. NELSON the change of her religion, which was owing to her conversations at *Rome* with Cardinal PHILIP HOWARD, who was grandson of THOMAS Earl of ARUNDEL, the collector of the antiquities, and had been rais'd to the purple by Pope CLEMENT X. in *May* 1675. Nor was this important alteration of her religious sentiments confin'd to her own mind, but involv'd in it her daughter by her first husband, whom she drew over to her new religion; and her zeal for it prompted her even to engage in the lists of the public controversy then depending; for she is the suppos'd author of a piece printed in 1686 in 4to, under the title of *A discourse concerning a judge of controversy in matters of religion, shewing the necessity of such a judge*; a point, the full consideration of which afterwards recover'd another of her own sex, and one of its greatest ornaments, Mrs. COCKBURNE<sup>c</sup>, from the *Romish* profession, into which she had been seduc'd in her early years. The Dean's concern for this unhappy step of Lady THEOPHILA occasion'd him, among other means of reclaiming her, to write to her a letter of considerable length upon that subject, which is unfortunately missing among the papers of her husband; but is remember'd to have concluded to this purpose; that he did not doubt, but that her Ladyship was as much

<sup>c</sup> Life of Mrs. CATHERINE COCKBURNE, p. xxx. prefix'd to the first volume of her works, printed at *London* 1751, in 8vo.

much wearied in reading so long a letter, as himself was in writing it ; and that she might imagine, that his time lay heavy upon his hands ; but the truth was, that every thing, which related to Mr. NELSON, lay so near his heart, that he could not say less upon such an occasion. But the strength of her prejudices was superior to the goodness of his cause, and the abilities of so able an advocate ; and notwithstanding the endeavours of Mr. NELSON, who was himself well instructed in that cause, as appears from a tract of his printed in 1687 in 4to, and intitled, *Transubstantiation contrary to scripture ; or the Protestant's answer to the seeker's request* ; yet she continued in the communion of the church of Rome till her death in 1705.

The persecution of the Protestants in *France*, begun some years before, but now carried to its height by the repeal of the edict of *Nantes* in *October* 1685, was not only a fresh proof to the Dean of the genuine spirit of unrestrain'd Popery, but an occasion of exerting his own piety and humanity towards those distress'd persons, who escap'd thence to *England*, and had the peculiar recommendation of suffering for religion. King CHARLES II. had as early as the year 1682 granted briefs for collecting money for the relief of these refugees ; and his example was afterwards followed by his successor, who pretended on all occasions a tenderness and moderation in matters of religion, or more probably was in this case influenc'd by motives of policy for the sake of adding industrious and useful people to his kingdom. The granting of these briefs gave the Dean an opportunity of shewing his regard for the persecuted *French* Protestants, by promoting the contributions in their favour. And the warmth of his zeal upon this occasion is evident from an answer, which he return'd to Dr. BEVERIDGE, one of the Prebendaries of his cathedral, who from a coolness towards foreign Protestants, or an unnecessary scruple

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ple with respect to forms even in affairs of weight and substance, had objected to the reading of one of these briefs there, as contrary to the rubric. The Dean's reply was short and significant, "Doctor, Doctor, charity is above rubrics."

The friendship between the Dean and Lady RUSSEL was cultivated by a frequent correspondence of letters during their absence, some of which will be found in the course of this *Life* of him. Her Ladyship had written to him in *October* 1685, in which letter she mention'd the small-pox having prov'd fatal to a cousin of hers, a niece of her cousin-german Mons. RUVIGNY, afterwards Earl of *Galway*, and General of the *English* forces in *Spain*; which young lady she speaks of in another letter to Doctor FITZWILLIAMS, of the 11th of *October*, as a pattern to all who knew her. The Dean's answer was as follows \* :

" *Canterbury, November 21st, 1685.*

" HONOUR'D MADAM,

" **W**HEN I look back upon the date of  
 " your Ladyship's letter, I blush to see it  
 " hath lain by me so long unanswered. And yet I  
 " assure you no day passeth, in which your Ladyship  
 " and your children are not in my mind. But I  
 " know not how, in the hurry I am in, in *London*,  
 " one business presseth so hard upon another, that  
 " I have less time for the things, to which I have  
 " most inclination. I am now for a while got out  
 " of the tumult and noise of that great city, and do  
 " enjoy a little more repose.

" It

\* From a collection of Archbishop TILLOTSON's letters to Lady RUSSEL, in the possession of EDMUND, late Lord Bishop of *London*, communicated to me by his Lordship's executors, the late Dr. BATTESWORTH, Dean of the Arches, and GEORGE GIBSON, Esq;



“ It was a great trouble to me to hear of the sad  
 “ loss your dear friend sustain’d during his short  
 “ stay in *England*. But, in some circumstances, to  
 “ die is to live. And that voice from heaven runs  
 “ much in my mind, which St. JOHN heard in his  
 “ vision of the last (as I think) and most extreme  
 “ persecution, which should befall the faithful ser-  
 “ vants of GOD, before the final downfall of *Baby-*  
 “ *lon*, *Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from*  
 “ *henceforth*; meaning, that they were happy, that  
 “ were taken away before that terrible and utmost  
 “ trial of the faith and patience of the saints. But  
 “ however that be, I do greatly rejoice in the pre-  
 “ servation of your children from the great danger  
 “ they were in upon that occasion, and thank GOD  
 “ heartily for it, because, whatever becomes of us, I  
 “ hope they may live to see better things.

“ Just now came the news of the prorogation of  
 “ the Parliament to the 10th of *February*, which  
 “ was surprising to us. We are not without hopes,  
 “ that in the mean time things will be disposed to a  
 “ better agreement against the next meeting. But  
 “ when all is done, our greatest comfort must be,  
 “ that we are in the hands of GOD, and that he hath  
 “ the care of us. And do not think, Madam, that  
 “ he loves you the less for having put so bitter a  
 “ cup into your hand. He, whom he loved in-  
 “ finitely best of all mankind, drank much deeper  
 “ of it.

“ I did hope to have waited upon my Lord of  
 “ *Bedford* at my return to *London*; but now I  
 “ doubt this prorogation will carry him into the  
 “ country before that time. I intreat you to present  
 “ my most humble service to his Lordship, to dear  
 “ little master, and the young ladies. I am not  
 “ worthy the consideration you are pleased to have

“ of

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“ of me, but I pray continually for you all, and  
“ shall ever be, Madam,

“ Your Ladyship’s most faithful

“ and humble servant,

“ JO. TILLOTSON.”

The Dean’s love of truth and justice to all men, without distinction, led him in the beginning of the following year to do right to the character of Mr. WILLIAM PENN. This gentleman, who was son of Sir WILLIAM PENN, Admiral in the expedition against *Hispaniola*, and at the taking of *Jamaica*, in the time of the Protector CROMWELL, and Vice-Admiral of *England* under King CHARLES II. had some part of his education at *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, and then travell’d into *France*; but joining the Quakers in 1666 at the age of twenty-two, soon became one of the most considerable preachers and writers amongst them, though he is now much less known to the public by his works, reprinted in two volumes in folio in 1726, than by the flourishing colony, which bears his name, and was established by him in 1681. His attachment to, and favour with King JAMES II. soon exposed him to the imputation of being a Papist in disguise, or at least of holding a correspondence with Jesuits at *Rome*. The Dean’s suspicions of the same kind being reported to Mr. PENN, the latter wrote immediately to him in his own justification; affirming himself to be “ no  
“ Roman Catholic, but a Christian, whose creed is  
“ the scripture; of the truth of which, *says he*, I  
“ hold a nobler evidence, than the best church authority in the world.” The result was, that he gave the Dean such satisfaction upon that head, that the latter returned him two letters<sup>c</sup> expressing that satisfaction. In the former of these, dated *Jan.*  
26th,

<sup>c</sup> *Life of WILLIAM PENN, p. 126—128 prefix’d to the first volume of his works, London 1726, fol.*

26th, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ , he declares his full concurrence with Mr. PENN, in abhorring the two principles mentioned by him, *obedience upon authority without conviction, and destroying them that differ from us, for God's sake*; and he affirms, that he had endeavoured to make it one of the governing principles of his life, never to abate any thing of humanity or charity to any man for his difference from him in opinion; "and particularly, *adds he*, to those of your persuasion, as several of them have had the experience. I have been ready upon all occasions to do all offices of kindness, being truly sorry to see them so hardly used; and tho' I thought them mistaken, yet in the main I believed them to be very honest."

In November 1687, he lost another of his daughters, and the last surviving of his children, MARY, the wife of JAMES CHADWICKE, Esq; by whom she left two sons, and a daughter. This loss, as he observed in a letter of the 11th of that month to Mr. NELSON, then in London, deeply pierced his heart; "but I endeavour, *adds he*, to do as becomes me, and as I know I ought." This misfortune probably occasioned him to retire to Canterbury, whence he wrote again to that gentleman on the 7th of December to return his own and his wife's thanks to him, and to those honourable persons, who, upon Mr. NELSON's motion, had been so charitable in their contributions, most probably to the French Protestants in that city, since he requests him to lay out five pounds in French bibles bound, and to desire Mr. FIRMIN to send them thither.

Not long after this, the Dean was seiz'd with a disorder of the apoplectic kind; but escaped the consequences of it, without any return till the fatal one about seven years after. Under the impressions of this melancholy stroke, and the loss of his daughter

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ter just before, he was called upon himself to administer consolation to an intimate and worthy friend, Mr. NICHOLAS HUNT of *Canterbury*, lingering under the apprehensions of death from an incurable cancer. This he did in a letter, which on account of the subject, and the manner of treating it, as well as of the incorrectness of the copy of it formerly printed, cannot be omitted here.

“ *Edmonton, January 16th<sup>d</sup> 1687.*

“ S I R,

“ **I** Am sorry to understand by Mr. JANEWAY’S  
“ letter to my son-in-law [Mr. CHADWICKE]  
“ that your distemper grows upon you, and that  
“ you seem to decline so fast. I am very sensible  
“ how much easier it is to give advice against  
“ trouble in the case of another, than to take it  
“ in our own.

“ It hath pleased God to exercise me of late with  
“ a very sore trial in the loss of my dear and only  
“ child, in which I do perfectly submit to his good  
“ pleasure, firmly believing, that he always does  
“ that, which is best. And yet, though reason be  
“ satisfied, our passion is not so soon appeased ;  
“ and when nature has received a wound, time must  
“ be allowed for the healing of it. Since that, God  
“ hath thought fit to give me a nearer summons,  
“ and a closer warning of my own mortality in the  
“ danger of an apoplexy ; which yet, I thank God  
“ for it, hath occasioned no very melancholy reflections. But this perhaps is more owing to natural temper, than philosophy and wise consideration.

“ Your

<sup>d</sup> Another copy, which I have seen, dates it the 26th. That printed in Dr. JOSIAH WOODWARD’S *Fair Warnings to a careless World*, p. 204, & seqq. Edit. London, 1707, 8vo. has no Date of the Month prefix’d to it.



“ Your case, I know, is very different, who are  
“ of a temper naturally melancholy, and under a  
“ distemper apt to increase it; for both which great  
“ allowances ought to be made. And yet methinks  
“ both reason and religion do offer us considerations  
“ of that solidity and strength, as may very well  
“ support our spirits under all frailties and infirmi-  
“ ties of the flesh; such as these:

“ That God is perfect love and goodness: That  
“ we are not only his creatures, but his children,  
“ and as dear to him, as to ourselves: That he  
“ *does not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of*  
“ *men*; and that all evils of afflictions, which be-  
“ fal us, are intended for the cure and prevention  
“ of greater evils of sin and punishment; and  
“ therefore we ought not only to submit to them  
“ with patience, as being deserved by us, but to re-  
“ ceive them with thankfulness, as being designed  
“ by him to do us that good, and to bring us to  
“ that sense of him and ourselves, which nothing  
“ else perhaps would have done. That the suffer-  
“ ings of this present life are but short and light,  
“ compared with that extreme and endless misery,  
“ which we have deserved, and with that exceeding  
“ and eternal weight of glory, which we hope for  
“ in the other world. That if we be careful to make  
“ the best preparations for death and eternity,  
“ whatever brings us nearer to our end, brings us  
“ nearer to our happiness; and how rugged soever  
“ the way be, the comfort is, that it leads us to our  
“ Father’s house, where we shall want nothing that  
“ we can wish. When we labour under a danger-  
“ ous distemper, which threatens our life; what  
“ would we not be content to bear, in order to a per-  
“ fect recovery, could we but be assured of it? And  
“ should we not be willing to endure much more  
“ in order to perfect happiness, and that eternal  
“ life, which God, that cannot lie, hath promised?

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“ Nature, I know, is fond of life, and apt to be  
“ still lingering after a longer continuance here.  
“ And yet a long life, with the usual burthens and  
“ infirmities of it, is seldom desirable. It is but the  
“ same thing over again, or worse; so many more  
“ nights and days, summers and winters; a repetition  
“ of the same pleasures, but with less pleasure  
“ and relish every day; a return of the same or greater  
“ pain and trouble, but with less strength and patience  
“ to bear them. These and the like considerations  
“ I use to entertain myself withal, not only with  
“ contentment, but comfort, though with great inequality  
“ of temper at several times, and with much  
“ mixture of human frailties, which will always  
“ stick to us, while we are in this world. However,  
“ by these kinds of thoughts, death will become  
“ more familiar to us, and we shall be able by  
“ degrees to bring our minds close up to it, without  
“ starting at it. The greatest tenderness I find in myself  
“ is with regard to some near relations, especially the  
“ dear and constant companion of my life, which I must  
“ confess doth very sensibly touch me. But then I consider,  
“ and so, I hope, will they also, that this separation  
“ will be but a very little while; and that tho’ I shall  
“ leave them in a bad world, yet under the care and  
“ protection of a good God, who can be more and  
“ better to them than all other relations, and will  
“ certainly be so to those, that love him, and hope  
“ in his mercy.

“ I shall not need to advise you what to do, and  
“ what use to make of this time of your visitation.  
“ I have reason to believe, that you have been careful  
“ in the time of your health to prepare for the  
“ evil day, and have been conversant in those books,  
“ which give the best directions to this purpose;  
“ and have not, as too many do, put off the great  
“ work of your life to the end of it. And then you  
“ have nothing to do, but, as well as you can, under  
“ your

“ your present weakness and pains, to renew your  
 “ repentance for all the errors and miscarriages of  
 “ your life, and earnestly to beg God’s pardon and  
 “ forgiveness of them, for his sake, who is the pro-  
 “ pitiation for our sins; to comfort yourself in the  
 “ goodness and promises of God, and the hopes of  
 “ that happiness you are ready to enter into; and  
 “ in the mean time to exercise faith and patience for  
 “ a little while. And be of good courage, since you  
 “ see land. The storm, which you are in, will soon  
 “ be over; and then it will be as if it had never  
 “ been, or rather the remembrance of it will be  
 “ pleasant.

“ I do not use to write such long letters, but I do  
 “ heartily compassionate your case, and should be  
 “ glad, if I could suggest any thing that might  
 “ help to mitigate your trouble, and make that  
 “ sharp and rugged way, through which you are  
 “ to pass into a better world, a little more smooth  
 “ and easy.

“ I pray God to fit us both for that great change,  
 “ which we must once undergo; and if we be but  
 “ in any good measure fit for it, sooner or later  
 “ makes no great difference. I commend you to  
 “ the Father of all mercies, and the God of *all*  
 “ *consolation*, beseeching him to increase your faith  
 “ and patience, and to stand by you in your last  
 “ and great conflict; that when you *walk through*  
 “ *the valley of the shadow of death*, you may *fear*  
 “ *no evil*; and when your heart fails, and your  
 “ strength fails, you may find him the *strength* of  
 “ your *heart*, and your *portion for ever*.

“ Farewel, my good friend; and whilst we are  
 “ here, let us pray for one another, that we may  
 “ have a joyful meeting in another world. So I  
 “ rest, Sir,

“ Your truly affectionate friend and servant,

“ J. TILLOTSON.”

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The re-establishment of his health kept him at *Tunbridge* during the usual season of the year 1688, where he had the honour of frequent conversations with the Princess ANNE of *Denmark*, before whom he preached there on the 2d of *September*, on the parable of the ten virgins, in which he took occasion to expose some of the most dangerous doctrines of the church of *Rome*, and concluded with an exhortation peculiarly adapted to his audience in that critical situation of things, “ that they should take great  
“ care, not to extinguish their lamps by quitting the  
“ profession of our holy religion upon any tempta-  
“ tion of advantage, or for fear of any loss or suf-  
“ fering whatsoever. This occasion, *adds he*, will  
“ call for all our faith and patience, all our cou-  
“ rage and constancy.

“*Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo.*”

Immediately after preaching this sermon he went to *Canterbury*, whence on the 6th of that month he wrote a letter to Lady RUSSEL in answer to one from her Ladyship. In this letter \* he mentions his having left the good Princess at *Tunbridge*. “ As for  
“ my friend\*, *says he*, who is so mindful in the  
“ midst of his prosperity of his old friends, I beg  
“ of your Ladyship to let him know, that I have a  
“ true sense of his constant friendship. For the pa-  
“ per he mentions, I believe it is well received  
“ generally on both sides. For mens heats are  
“ much allayed, and they have now patience to hear  
“ of their faults, if they be told of them in a civil  
“ way, without anger or ill-will, as that paper does  
“ with great skill, considering the nicety and ten-  
“ derness of the subject; so that if it has not fully  
“ pleased both, it hath the good fortune to have  
“ provok’d

\* Among the collection of Lady RUSSEL's letters.

\* Dr. FITZ-WILLIAMS.



“provok’d neither. It is too much according to my mind, for me to be fit to commend it. I will only say, that it is both very artificial and very honest, two things, which seldom meet together.” This paper was probably Mr. SAMUEL JOHNSON’s *way to peace among all Protestants: being a letter of reconciliation sent by Bishop RIDLEY to Bishop HOOPER: with some observations upon it*: licensed in July 1688, but seiz’d soon after the publication by order of the Earl of Sunderland. Mr. JOHNSON introduces his *observations* on that letter of Bishop RIDLEY with remarking, that as there could not be *a more blessed work than to reconcile Protestants with Protestants*, this was the only design of his paper, by proposing the example of two Protestant Bishops, “who wisely found out the way to put a happy period to their unhappy differences, which are the very same, as have been since taken up by Protestants again, after these two good men had laid them down. In the strugglings of RIDLEY and HOOPER, there were two nations struggling in the womb, the two great parties of the Conformists and Nonconformists; for these two persons differed about the self-same matters, as we do now, the establish’d ceremonies, the dress of religion, certain by-matters and circumstances of religion, which HOOPER, the Nonconformist, could not comply with; and RIDLEY, the Conformist, because they were according to law, insisted upon, and would not abate.”

In the month of *November* following, memorable for the landing of the Prince of *Orange* to deliver the nation from the most imminent danger of its most important interests, and for the general defection of the King’s friends, the Dean is said to have been employ’d in drawing up the letter sent by Prince GEORGE of *Denmark*, upon his leaving his Majesty at *Andover* on the 24th of that month, in the King’s

return from *Salisbury* towards *London*. There is only traditional evidence of this fact, but it is rendered highly probable by the Dean's intimacy with both their Royal Highnesses, his known abilities in writing upon subjects of the greatest delicacy, which would naturally recommend his pen upon such an occasion, and the composition of the letter itself, which is exactly in his manner, and the following passage peculiarly so. "I am not ignorant  
 " of the frequent mischiefs wrought in the world  
 " by factious pretensions of religion. But were not  
 " religion the most justifiable cause, it would not  
 " be made the most specious pretence. And your  
 " Majesty has already shewn too uninterested a  
 " sense of religion to doubt the just effects of it in  
 " one, whose practices have, I hope, never given  
 " the world cause to censure his real conviction of  
 " it, or his backwardness to perform what his honour and conscience prompt him to."

The King having withdrawn himself from *Rocheſter* into *France* on the 23d of *December*, a few days after he had been desired, for the sake of the public peace and safety, to leave *Whitehall*, whither he had return'd on the 16th upon being stopp'd at *Feverſham*, and where he had, according to a very unsuspected authority\*, again called together about him the most violent Papists, without the least regard to any men of prudence and moderation; and the  
 Prince

\* That of the learned Mr. HENRY WHARTON, then Chaplain to Archbishop SANCROFT, who in his manuscript history and diary of his own life, written in *Latin*, in the possession of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. CALAMY, containing a very odious picture of King JAMES II's government, has, under the 16th of *December*, 1688, enter'd the following remark: *Rex urbem deductus est: cum more solito perditissimorum pontificiorum è latebris ad adventum ejus erumpentium satellitium acciret, iisque solis aurem præberet, exclusis cordatioribus viris, pontificiosque dimittere præfractè recusaret; Princeps Auriacus procereſque Regni illi urbe cedendum esse denuntiârunt, & Belgarum turmâ stipatum Rocestriam deduci curarunt die 18.*

Prince of Orange being settled in the palace at *St. James's*, the Dean was desired to preach before him there on *Sunday* the 6th of *January* 168<sup>8</sup>: And the convention, which met on the 22d of that month, having appointed *Thursday* the 31st for a day of *public thanksgiving to Almighty God*, in the cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and ten miles distant, for having made his Highness the Prince of Orange the glorious instrument of the great deliverance of this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power; he preach'd a sermon upon that occasion at *Lincoln's-Inn* chapel, which he publish'd soon after, with a dedication to the society there, in which he acknowledg'd himself much indebted to them for their great and continued respects to him, and kind acceptance of his labours among them, for above the space of five and twenty years. In this sermon, having recapitulated the several judgments inflicted upon the nation from the earliest times, and represented the greatness of their late deliverance, with the strangeness of the means, by which it had been effected, and the suddenness and easiness of it, he concludes with an advice suitable to his own temper, recommending clemency and moderation; "making, says he, as few examples of severity, as will be consistent with our future security from the like attempts upon our religion and laws. And even in the execution of justice upon the greatest offenders, let us not give so much countenance to the ill examples, which have been set, of extravagant fines and punishments, as to imitate those patterns, which with so much reason we abhor; no, not in the punishment of the authors of them." Another of his advices was, to be for once so wise, as not to forfeit the fruits of this deliverance, or to deprive themselves of the benefit and advantages of it by breaches and divisions among them. "As we have no reason," continues he, to desire it, so I think we can hardly

“ ever hope to understand Popery better, and the  
 “ cruel design of it, than we do already, both from  
 “ the long tryal and experience, which we have had  
 “ of it in this nation, and likewise from that dismal  
 “ and horrid view, which hath of late been given  
 “ us, of the true spirit and temper of it in one of  
 “ our neighbour nations, which hath long pretended  
 “ to the profession of the most refin’d and moderate  
 “ Popery in the world, but hath now at last shew’d  
 “ itself in its true colours, and in the perfection of  
 “ a persecuting spirit, and hath therein given us,  
 “ a most sad and deplorable instance of a religion  
 “ corrupted and degenerated into that, which, if  
 “ possible, is worse than noen.” He appears in  
 this sermon persuaded of the Papists having  
 been concerned in the fire of *London*; observing,  
 that there was *too much reason to believe, that the*  
*enemy did this, that perpetual and implacable enemy of*  
*the peace and happiness of our nation.* And this  
 persuasion of his is mention’d by Bishop BURNET<sup>1</sup>,  
 who adds, that the Dean related to him a circum-  
 stance, which made the Papists employing such a  
 craz’d person as HUBERT, a *French* man of that  
 religion, in such a service, the more credible. Mr.  
 LANGHORN, the Popish counsellor at law, who for  
 many years pass’d for a Protestant, but was after-  
 wards executed for the Popish plot, was dispatching  
 a half-witted man to manage elections in *Kent* before  
 the restoration. Mr. TILLOTSON being present, and  
 observing, what a sort of man he was, ask’d Mr.  
 LANGHORN, how he could employ him in such  
 services. His answer was, that it was a maxim with  
 him, in dangerous services to employ none but half-  
 witted men, if they could be but secret, and obey  
 orders; for if they should change their minds, and  
 turn informers instead of agents, it would be easy  
 to discredit them, and to carry off the weight of  
 any

<sup>1</sup> History of his own time, *Tom. I. p. 230,*



any discoveries they could make, by shewing that they were mad-men, and so not like to be trusted in critical things.

The government being settled upon King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, who were proclaim'd on *Asb-Wednesday* the 13th of *February* 168<sup>3</sup>/<sub>7</sub>, and crown'd on the 11th of *April* following, some of the ecclesiastical commissioners under King JAMES thinking it necessary to excuse their acting under so illegal a commission, the Earl of *Mulgrave*, afterwards Duke of *Buckinghamshire*, address'd his apology, dated at *Whitehall*, *March* 27. to the Dean; who had used all his efforts in favour of his Lordship, while that commission was in question. " Nothing  
" in this world, *says the Earl*, is, or ought to be,  
" so dear to any man as his reputation; and consequently the defence of it is the greatest obligation,  
" that one man can lay upon another. There are  
" also some circumstances, that render this obligation yet more acceptable and valuable; as when  
" it is conferr'd generously, without any self-interest, or the least desire or invitation from  
" the person so defended. All this happens to  
" be my case at this time; and therefore I hope  
" you will not be surpris'd to find I am not the  
" most ungrateful and insensible man living;  
" which certainly I should be, if I did not acknowledge all your industrious concern for me  
" about the business of the ecclesiastical commission, which now makes so much noise in the  
" world. You have, as I am told, so cordially  
" pleaded my cause, that it is almost become your  
" own. And therefore, unwilling as I am to speak  
" of myself, especially in a business, which I cannot wholly excuse; yet, I think myself now a  
" little oblig'd to shew, that my part in this matter, though imprudent enough, yet is not altogether unworthy of so just and so considerable

“an advocate.” He then represents, that he had been kept out of all the secret counsels of the late reign, and had taken all occasions to oppose the *French* interest, which he knew to be directly opposite both to the King’s and kingdom’s good. He owns himself now as sensible of his error in sitting in the ecclesiastical commission, as he was at first ignorant of it, being so unhappily conversant in the midst of a perpetual court-flattery, as never to have heard the least word of any illegality in that commission, before he was unfortunately engag’d in it; which he was desirous to have avoided, if possible, as a troublesome employment, that had not the least temptation of honour or profit to recommend it; and in which therefore he continued upon no account in the world, but to serve both King and Clergy with the little ability he had, in moderating those counsels, which he thought might grow higher, if he left his place to be fill’d by any of those, who waited for it greedily, in order to their ill designs. Besides which, it was to be consider’d, that one of the important affairs, which pass’d in that ecclesiastical court, the suspension of the Bishop of *London* was done some months before the Earl was a commissioner; and the other, the incapacitating the members of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, was opposed by his Lordship both in voting and speaking, with all the interest, that he was able to make; and he never acted in that court after, except in restoring the Bishop of *London*. His Lordship adds, that he had in his office of Lord-chamberlain filled the vacancies of the Chaplainships to the King with the ablest approv’d Divines whom he could find, most commonly recommended to him by the Bishops, who were not of the court; believing, that it had been better for the King, as well as the kingdom, if the greater ecclesiastical dignities had been disposed of by others with as much caution. “And thus,

“ thus, Sir, concludes his Lordship, I have endeavoured to confirm you in your favourable opinion of me, which must be acknowledged by every body an approbation of such weight, that, as I hope it may be an example of authority to many, so it is sufficient of itself to balance the censoriousness of others.”

Another of the ecclesiastical commissioners, for whom the Dean interceded, and at last obtained favour, was Dr. NATHANIEL CREW, Bishop of *Durham*, a man much more considerable for his birth and station, in which indeed he lived with great hospitality, than for the firmness and consistency of his conduct. He was fifth son of JOHN LORD CREW, to which title he succeeded upon the death of his elder brother, and was born *January 31st, 1633*. He was educated at *Lincoln College in Oxford*, of which university he was Proctor in 1663. In *April 1668* he was made Clerk of the closet to King CHARLES II. and the same month Dean of *Chichester*, and in 1671 Bishop of *Oxford*, from which See he was translated to that of *Durham* in *October 1674*. Upon the accession of King JAMES II. to the crown he was made Dean of the Royal-chapel, and sworn of the Privy-council, and in 1686 was appointed of the ecclesiastical commission, expressing his high satisfaction in it, that his name would now be recorded in history <sup>a</sup>. He was likewise commissioned with Dr. SPRAT, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr. WHITE, Bishop of *Peterborough*, upon the suspension of the Bishop of *London*, to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in that diocese. In this office he was present in *February 1687*, at the examination of Mr. HENRY WHARTON for orders, and admiring the readiness of his answers, promised to make Mr. WHARTON his Chaplain, but broke his word with him ; for which reason that learned writer,

in

<sup>a</sup> BURNET, vol. I. p. 676.

in his MS. Diary of his life, speaks of him with great contempt, as a man of no veracity<sup>i</sup>. His Lordship was on all occasions so compliant with the court, that he was forward in shewing respect to the Pope's Nuncio sent thither; and refus'd to introduce Dr. PATRICK, Dean of *Peterborough*, to kiss the King's hand, on account of his zeal against Popery<sup>k</sup>. But the apprehension of the Prince of ORANGE's landing immediately put an end to his concurrence with the measures of King JAMES, from whose council-board he withdrew: and the dread of the consequences of his former behaviour induc'd him to abscond upon the abdication of that King, in which situation he offer'd to compound for his offences by a resignation of his Bishopric<sup>l</sup>, particularly to Dr. BURNET, on whose generosity he would depend for an allowance of a thousand pounds a year during his life; which offer the Dr. refused<sup>m</sup>. The Bishop afterwards ventured out of his retreat to the Convention-parliament, in order to make a merit with the new government by voting for it<sup>n</sup>. But their Majesties had so ill an opinion of him, that he was excepted out of the act of indemnity pass'd in 1690. However at last a full pardon was procured for him by the Dean, as well from his own disposition to offices of that kind, as the solicitations of his friend Dr. WILLIAM BATES, the politest writer among the Presbyterians of his time, who had been engaged in the Bishop's interest. His Lordship lived to the age of eighty-eight, dying *Sept. 12, 1721*.

During the debate in Parliament concerning the Settlement of the crown on King WILLIAM for life,  
the

<sup>i</sup> *Levis iste ac versipellis Episcopus: . . . Summam levissimi Viri perfidiam detestatus.*

<sup>k</sup> General Dictionary, article PATRICK (SAMUBL).

<sup>l</sup> BURNET, *vol. II.* p. 822.

<sup>m</sup> Life of BURNET, p. 696.

<sup>n</sup> BURNET, *vol. I.* p. 822.



the Dean was advised with upon that point by the Princess ANNE of *Denmark*, who had at first refused to give her consent to it, as prejudicial to her own right. Her favourite, the Lady CHURCHILL, afterwards Duchess of *Marlborough*, accordingly took great pains to promote the Princess's pretensions. But that Lady soon finding, that all endeavours of this kind would be ineffectual; that all the principal men, except the Jacobites, were for the King, and that the settlement would be carried in Parliament, whether her Royal Highness consented to it, or not; and being fearful about every thing, which the Princess did, while she was thought to be advised by her Ladyship, she could not satisfy her own mind, till she had consulted with several persons of undisputed wisdom and integrity, and particularly with the Lady RUSSEL, and the Dean of *Canterbury*. She found them all unanimous in the expediency of the settlement proposed, as things were then situated; and therefore carried the Dean to the Princess, who, upon what he said to her, took care, that no disturbance should be made by her pretended friends, the Jacobites, who had press'd her earnestly to form an opposition<sup>o</sup>.

The Dean was now admitted into a high degree of favour and confidence with the King and Queen, before the latter of whom he preach'd at *Whitehall*, on the 8th of *March* 168<sup>8</sup>/<sub>9</sub>, his sermon concerning *the forgiveness of injuries and against revenge*, as he did on the 14th of *April* following before both their Majesties, at *Hampton-Court*, that on *the care of our souls, and the one thing needful*. And on the 27th of that month he was promoted to an office, which required his frequent attendance near their Majesties persons, being appointed Clerk of the closet to the King.

The

<sup>o</sup> Account of the conduct of the dowager Duchess of MARLBOROUGH, p. 22, 23, 24.

The house of Commons having the next month appointed a fast on the fifth of *June*, the Dean was desired to preach before them on that occasion: But his indisposition preventing him from being able to perform that duty, the House on the 31st of *May* requested Dr. TENNISON to supply his place, and Mr. WAKE to preach before them on the afternoon of the same day.

The vacancies of some Bishoprics soon turn'd the thoughts of his Majesty and his ministers upon the Dean for filling one of them: But this design was so far from being agreeable to him, that he used all possible solicitations to avoid it. There are extant in his common-place book the heads of a letter, which he wrote for that purpose; but these so defective, that several of the sentences are not filled up, and some words omitted through haste or inattention. The name of the nobleman, to whom it was address'd, is not mark'd; but there is little doubt, that it was WILLIAM, Earl of *Portland*, the favourite and confidant of King WILLIAM, by whom he had been created an Earl, on the 19th of *April* 1689. The imperfect draught of this letter has so many marks of the genius and temper of the writer, as to deserve to be perpetuated, for want of the finish'd letter.

“ **I** Beg of your Lordship, who have deservedly  
 “ the freedom and credit with both their Ma-  
 “ jesties, which few others have, to possess them  
 “ of two things; one whereof concerns the public,  
 “ and the other myself.

“ 1st. Of the church of *England*. . . . .

“ 2. The other concerns myself. And I ear-  
 “ nestly beg of your Lordship to defend me from a  
 “ Bishopric. Few can believe me in this, but I  
 “ hope your Lordship does. I am now upon the  
 “ verge of threescore years of age. I have had

“ great afflictions to wean me from the world, having, &c. I have had a loud summons by a fit of the apoplexy above a year ago. I feel the infirmities of age growing upon me. I cannot now do that in three weeks, which since I was fifty I could with ease have done in three days. It is a melancholy thought to me to            in a Bishopric, especially in the House of Peers, where there are some wise, and so many witty young men, to make observations upon an old one.—For the sake of the Protestant religion and their Majesties, for whom I have so true esteem, I would take any burden upon me, which I am able to stand under. But I do not love either the ceremony or trouble of a great place.—When men are children again, it is not fit they should appear in public, but go back into the nursery.—I desire to be as useful as I can; but I do not affect to be famous. I firmly believe another world, in which I do not think I shall be happier for having been famous in this world. That little good, which I have been able to do has been in the city of *London*, which I foresee will be stript of its ablest men: And if I can be serviceable any where, it is there. They, that have known me for thirty years, will best bear with my infirmities, and perhaps least discern them, because they see me every day, and the change will be insensible to them.

“ I thank God I have lived to have my last desire in this world, which was this happy revolution; and now I care for no more but to see it established. And I have declared my sense of this great deliverance so openly, and shall always do so, that I do not fear to be suspected of fullness and discontent for my declining preferment, which is the only objection, that I can foresee.—I think it may be somewhat for the  
“ honour

“ honour of our religion, and the advantage of the  
 “ government, to have one so hearty for both with-  
 “ out any expectation or desire of preferment by it.  
 “ This is the only vanity I can be thought to be  
 “ guilty of ; and if no body else perhaps is so wil-  
 “ ling, I am contented to lie under the burden of  
 “ it. And it is not inconvenient there should be  
 “ an example of one, that without any visible in-  
 “ terest wisheth well to the public, and desires to  
 “ deserve well of it.—I beg of your Lordship,  
 “ if there be need, as I hope there will not, to in-  
 “ tercede for me in this particular ; and the rather,  
 “ because I hope no body will prevent me in this  
 “ petition, nor envy me the grant.—As of all  
 “ things I would not displease their Majesties, so I  
 “ am confident they would not take from me the  
 “ happiness of my life. . . . .”

Instances of this kind of self-denial will perhaps  
 be thought rare in any age ; but there was a re-  
 markable one under HENRY VIII, of another Dean  
 of *Canterbury*, well known in our history by his em-  
 bassies and public negotiations in that and the suc-  
 ceeding reigns, Dr. NICOLAS WOTTON, great un-  
 cle of Sir HENRY WOTTON. This great politician  
 as well as divine, being inform'd of an intention to  
 advance him to the Mitre, wrote to Dr. BELLASIS,  
 from *Dusseldorp November 11th 1539*, requesting  
 him, “ for the passion of God, to convey that Bi-  
 “ shopric from him. So I might, *adds he*, avoid  
 “ it, without displeasure, I would surely never  
 “ meddle with it. There be enough, that be meet  
 “ for it, and will not refuse it. I cannot marvel  
 “ enough, *cur obtrudatur non cupienti, immò ne*  
 “ *idoneo quidem*. My mind is as troubled as my  
 “ writing is. . . . Yours to his little power NICO-  
 “ LAS WOTTON : Add whatsoever you will more  
 “ to it, if you add not *Bishop*.”

But



But to return to our Dean of *Canterbury*; in *August* 1689 he was appointed by the Chapter of his cathedral to exercise the Archiepiscopal jurisdiction of that province, devolv'd to himself and that body<sup>p</sup>, on the 1st of that month, by the suspension of the Primate, Dr. SANCROFT, for the refusal of the new oaths appointed by the act of Parliament of the 24th of *April*, instead of the former of allegiance and supremacy; and enjoined to be taken by all persons, who were in any office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, in the kingdom. By the first of these, allegiance was sworn to their Majesties; by the second, the papal and foreign jurisdictions are renounc'd: and by the statute, which enjoins the taking of these oaths, it is enacted, that not only such, as shall from that time be preferr'd to any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice, but all others, then in actual possession of any such preferments, should take the said oaths before the first of *August* following, on the penalty of suspension for six months following; and that at the end of the said six months, if they still persisted not to take the said oaths, they were *ipso facto* to be depriv'd. The Archbishop's example was followed by several of the Bishops, Dr. THOMAS of *Worcester*, Dr. LAKE of *Chichester*, Dr. TURNER of *Ely*, Dr. LLOYD of *Norwich*, Dr. KENN of *Bath and Wells*, Dr. FRAMPTON of *Gloucester*, and Dr. WHITE of *Peterborough*. His Grace had indeed early shew'd his disinclination to the revolution government, having never waited upon the King and Queen since their arrival, nor appear'd in the House of Peers. His Chaplain Mr. WHARTON, in his *diary*, mentions a remarkable circumstance of his Grace's conduct on the day of their Majesties

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<sup>p</sup> The Bishop of London seem'd to doubt of their right to this jurisdiction; but Dr. STILLINGFLEET was clear in that point in his letter, which he wrote to his Lordship the 19th of August 1689. See his Miscellaneous discourses, p. 234. & seqq. Edit. London 1735.

proclamation. The Queen had sent on that very day two of her Chaplains to *Lambeth* to ask the Archbishop's blessing; after which they went to the chapel there, with a design to observe, whether their Majesties were prayed for. Mr. WHARTON, being the only Chaplain of his Grace in waiting, and solicitous to do nothing, that might injure his patron, consulted him what he should do upon that occasion. The Archbishop left him to his own discretion, declaring, that he would give him no new orders; the other Chaplains having before alter'd the prayers as they thought proper, without any command or reprehension from his Grace. Mr. WHARTON therefore imagining, that he might take the same liberty, and being concern'd for the safety of the Archbishop, and for his own part resolv'd to obey that government, which providence should establish, pray'd in exprefs terms for King WILLIAM and Queen MARY: But the same evening his Grace sent for him, and in a great passion, *vehementer exandescens*, told him, that he must either omit naming the new King and Queen in his prayers, or pray no more in his chapel, since they could not be so during the life of King JAMES. This Mr. WHARTON imputes to the suggestions of the Bishops of *Norwich*, *Cbichester*, and *Ely*, to the great misfortune, says he, of the church; for from that time his Grace, who might easily have had every thing under his own direction, resign'd so far all authority in the state, that the church on his account was afterwards expos'd to extreme danger<sup>1</sup>. The Archbishop persisting in his refusal of the oaths, at the end of his six months suspension, was depriv'd on the 1st of February 16<sup>39</sup>/<sub>40</sub>, tho' he liv'd with

<sup>1</sup> *Id animi illi indiderant Episcopi Norwicensis, Ciceſtrenſis, & Elienſis, peſſimo eccleſiæ ſcitu. Hinc enim Archiepiſcopus, cui facile fuiſſet res omnes pro libitu ſtatuerẽ, omnem in republicã authoritatem uſque adeo omiſit, ut eccleſia ipſius cauſã deinceps maximẽ periclitari cõperit.*

with the same splendor and attendance as before till the 1st of *August* 1690, when he dismiss'd most of his servants, and discontinu'd his public hospitality. After the nomination of his successor in *April* 1691, he was warn'd by an order from the Queen of the 20th of *May* to leave the palace of *Lambeth*. Before that time he had resolv'd to leave all his books to *Lambeth* library, in which they were plac'd, and to that purpose had order'd Mr. WHARTON to take an account of them. But thinking himself unkindly used in being order'd to depart within ten days, he removed his books, and resolv'd not to depart himself, till he should be ejected by law. He was cited therefore to appear before the Barons of the Exchequer upon the first day of Trinity Term, *June* 12, 1691, to answer a writ of intrusion; where he appear'd by his Attorney several times; but always cautiously avoided putting in any plea, wherein the names of the King or Queen might be mentioned, or their title own'd. On *Tuesday* the 23d of that month the Attorney-general mov'd for judgment; when his Grace's counsel pleaded, that, according to the rules of that court, imparlance ought to be allowed till the next term: but the judges alledging, that it was in their own power to change the rules of the court, and that this was an extraordinary case, over-ruled their plea, and order'd judgment to pass, if they would not join issue that day; which the Archbishop's agents refus'd to do, and so judgment pass'd. The same day between seven and eight in the evening he left *Lambeth*, attended by his Steward, Dr. PAMAN, master of the faculties, FR. NICOLLS, and Mr. JACOB, having not given any notice to his Chaplains, nor sent for them. He took boat at *Lambeth-bridge*, and went to a private house in the *Temple*. The next morning he was waited on by his Chaplains, whom he received with extraordinary kindness, and

caused them to celebrate divine service before him according to the office of the day. That day after dinner at *Lambeth*, the family was dissolved by the steward; all the servants having their wages till *Michaelmas* following, and being dismissed with much kindness. An alms was likewise given to the poor of the parish, and a present to the curate, Mr. CLERK. On the *Saturday* following, the Attorney-general sent a messenger to receive possession of the palace: But the Steward having orders to deliver it to none besides the legal officer, refus'd to surrender it to him, desiring, that the Under-sheriff might come and receive it. The messenger accordingly departed, and within two hours brought with him the Under-sheriff and the writ *ad faciendum*, &c. issued out in virtue of the *conviction* of Intrusion; when possession was delivered to him with great civility: but the body of the Steward was attach'd, and carried to the *Marshalsea*, tho' 10,000*l.* bail was offered; and he was kept there, with design, as Mr. WHARTON asserts\*, of forcing the Archbishop thereby to write to the other Bishops in the same circumstances, to deliver up possession without any contest, which he refus'd to do; and after ten days the Steward was releas'd upon 100*l.* bail; and in *Michaelmas* Term following appear'd at the Exchequer-bar, where his case being argued, he was sentenced by the judges in a fine of 300 marks to the King, which he paid down immediately, and was dismiss'd. The Archbishop departed privately from *London* on the 3d of *August*, attended only by his Steward, Mr. JACOB, Mr. NICOLLS, and three other servants; and arrived on the 5th at *Fresingfield* in *Suffolk*, where he was born, and where he died *November* 24th 1693, without making a will, to avoid the necessity of the probate

\* MS. collections of M. H. WHARTON in *Lambeth* library, p. 76. & seq.



bate of it before his successor, but only a deed of gift with conditions. In his last illness, and a day or two before his death, he profess'd to Mr. WHARTON his great repentance for all sins, but more particularly for not having acted with that vigour, authority, and power, in his Archiepiscopal office, which the cause and state of the church might have required, and thereby having omitted to employ the means of serving the church of CHRIST, which God had put into his hands, to the utmost<sup>s</sup>. This condemnation of himself for not having exerted a proper vigour and spirit in his great station in the church, can scarce be understood of his conduct at the revolution, when his utmost endeavours would not have prevented the settlement of the new government, or the submission of the clergy to it; tho' his inactivity at that crisis has been severely censur'd by those of his own party. But it may more justly be applied to his behaviour before that important event, which had been certainly less active and spirited, than the dangers and encroachments of Popery requir'd; his timidity and apprehensions of exasperating the court having restrained him from many things, which were necessary to the interests of the Protestant religion at so critical a season. Of this we have one remarkable instance mention'd by Mr. WHARTON in his *diary*, who having translated into *English* Mons. DELLON's *History of the inquisition of Goa*, printed at *Paris* in *October* 1687, could not procure an *imprimatur* at *Lambeth* for his translation, notwithstanding his frequent solicitations.

Archbishop SANCROFT was born on the 30th of *January* 16<sup>1</sup>/<sub>17</sub>, and educated at *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, being matriculated in that university on the 3d of *July* 1634, and afterwards chosen Fellow of that college, next after Dr. WORTHINGTON, who was admitted *April* 4th, 1642<sup>t</sup>. His refusal

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of

<sup>s</sup> Mr. WHARTON's MS. collections. <sup>t</sup> LE NEVE, p. 197, 198.

148 *The Life of Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON,*

of the *engagement* impos'd after the death of King CHARLES I, occasioned his being depriv'd of his fellowship; upon which he travelled into *France* and *Italy*<sup>u</sup>. He published at *London* in 1652 in 8vo a small piece, intitled *Modern politics, taken from MACHIAVEL, BORGIA, and other modern authors, by an eye-witness*; and he joined with Mr. GEORGE DAVENPORT and another of his friends, in composing that severe satire upon *Calvinism*, intitled *Fur prædestinatus*<sup>w</sup>, printed at *London* in 1651; and he published Bishop ANDREWS's defence of the vulgar translation of the bible, with a preface of his own. In the beginning of the year 1660 he was at *Rome*, but returned to *England* soon after the restoration of King CHARLES II<sup>x</sup>; and on the eighth of *May* that year was chosen one of the university preachers, being then Bachelor of divinity<sup>y</sup>. Upon the advancement of Dr. JOHN COSIN to the Bishopric of *Durham*, he was appointed Chaplain to his Lordship, whose consecration sermon he preach'd on the second of *December* 1660, and dedicated it to him

<sup>u</sup> WALKER's sufferings of the clergy, *Part II.* p. 144.

<sup>w</sup> The whole title of this remarkable piece is as follows: *Fur prædestinatus: sive dialogismus inter quendam ordinis prædicatorum Calvinistam & furem ad laqueum damnatum habitus. In quo ad vivum representatur, non tantum quomodo Calvinistarum dogmata ex seipsis ansam præbent scelera & impietates quasvis patrandi, sed insuper quomodo eadem maxime impediunt, quò minus peccator ad vitæ emendationem & resipiscentiam reduci possit.* To this an answer was return'd, under the title of *Fur pro Tribunali: Examen Dialogismi, qui inscribitur, Fur prædestinatus*: Oxon 1657, in 12mo, written by GEORGE KENDALL, a native of *Devonshire*, educated at *Exeter College* in *Oxford* under Dr. JOHN PRIDEAUX, of which he was Fellow, then Rector of *Blisland* near *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, Preacher at *Grace Church* in *London*, and at last Rector of *Kenton* in *Devonshire*, which, with a Prebend of *Exeter* conferr'd upon him by Bishop BROWNE, he left for non-conformity in 1662, and died *August* 19th the year following. WOOD, *Athen. II.* art. 325. CALAMY's Account, p. 239. and Continuation, p. 259.

<sup>x</sup> Mr. WHARTON's MS. collections.

<sup>y</sup> LE NEVE, p. 198.

him with a *Latin* inscription. In the convocation of the year 1661, he was particularly useful in rectifying the calendar and rubric<sup>z</sup>, in which he was assisted by Mr. JOHN PELL, the celebrated mathematician<sup>a</sup>; and in *March* 1661-2 he was created Doctor of divinity at *Cambridge*, in virtue of his Majesty's letters patents of the 15th of that month for that purpose<sup>b</sup>. The same month he was collated by his patron to a Prebend of the church of *Durham*, having been, on the 7th of *December* preceding, presented by him to the Rectory of *Houghton in the Spring*, in the county palatine of *Durham*; and on the 14th of *August* 1662 he was elected master of *Emanuel College*<sup>c</sup>. He was advanced to the Deanry of *York* in *January* 166 $\frac{3}{4}$ , which he held but ten months, and in that time expended in buildings and charges 200*l.* more than he receiv'd. He made a rental of that church, and reduced into order the accounts of it, which had been before wholly neglected. Upon his nomination to the Deanry of *St. Paul's* in 1664, the tenants of that of *York*, being apprehensive of the covetous temper of his successor Dr. ROBERT HITCH, then design'd, and earnestly desiring him to renew their leases; he absolutely refus'd, though the fines then offer'd amounted to 400*l.* After the fire of *London* in 1666, he spent 1000*l.* in rebuilding the Deanry house at *St. Paul's*; the rest of the expence being defray'd out of the money brought in from the coal-act for the rebuilding the church and edifices of *St. Paul's*; which act he procured by his unwearied industry and sollicitation<sup>d</sup>. In 1668 on the 7th of *October* he was admitted Archdeacon of *Canterbury* on the King's presentation, which he held till 1670, and then resign'd it. He was ad-

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vanced

<sup>z</sup> WALTON's life of Bishop SANDERSON.

<sup>a</sup> KENNET's register and chronicle, p. 574.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid, p. 647.

<sup>c</sup> WALKER, *ubi supra*.

<sup>d</sup> Mr. WHARTON's MS. collections.

vanced to the Archbishopric in *January 1672*, while he was Prolocutor of the Convocation, being consecrated to that See on the 27th of that month<sup>e</sup>. His firmness in refusing with six other Bishops to order the reading King JAMES II's declaration of indulgence, did him great honour; and in *November 1688* he excused himself from publishing an abhorrence of the Prince of *Orange's* invasion, and concurred with other Lords spiritual and temporal at the meeting at *Guildball* on the 11th of *December*, in a declaration to that Prince for a free Parliament and due indulgence to Protestant dissenters<sup>f</sup>. But he would not submit to the new settlement of the crown. Mr. (afterwards Sir) ISAAC NEWTON happened to be at *Lambeth*, when the news was brought, that the House of Commons had declared the Throne vacant. Upon which the Archbishop appeared concern'd, expressing his wishes, that they had proceeded in a more regular method, and examined into the birth of the young child, since there was reason to believe, that he was not the same with the first, which might be easily known, as he had a mole on his neck. And after he had refus'd the oaths, when Mr. JOHN DUBOURDIEU, Minister of the *French* church in the *Savoy*, went to take his leave of him, upon going Chaplain to Duke SCHOMBERG in *Piedmont*, his Grace told him, that he did not doubt, that the foreign Protestants would blame his conduct; but he declar'd, that before he took that step, he had foreseen every thing, that could be said, and even the injury, which it might do to the Protestant cause; and that he

<sup>e</sup> LE NEVE, p. 200.

<sup>f</sup> Upon these facts the common historians may be compared with the account drawn up by Dr. FRANCIS TURNER, Bishop of *Ely*, published in 1717 in 8vo in a pamphlet, intitled, *A vindication of the late Archbishop SANCROFT and his brethren the rest of the depriv'd Bishops, from the reflections of Mr. MARSHAL in his Defence of our constitution.*



he was greatly concern'd, and had fasted and pray'd, but that at last his conscience would not suffer him to act any otherwise than he had done<sup>e</sup>. Bishop BURNET represents him<sup>h</sup>, as a man considerably learned, and of solemn deportment, with a fullen gravity in his looks, and a monastic strictness, and abstraction from company; dry, cold, reserved, and peevish, so that none loved him, and few esteemed him. And indeed, upon an impartial examination of his conduct and character, he will appear to have been slow, timorous, and narrow-spirited, but at the same time a good, honest, and well-meaning man. He was very laborious in his studies, and had amass'd a vast collection of papers, having written perhaps more with his own hand, than any person of his time<sup>i</sup>. But the three sermons, which he publish'd, give us a very low idea of his taste and judgment, and are more suitable to a disciple of Bishop ANDREWS, than a contemporary of Dr. TILLOTSON.

The refusal of Archbishop SANCROFT to acknowledge the government of their Majesties, made it necessary to look out for a successor to him. The King soon fix'd upon the Dean of *Canterbury* for that purpose, whose desires and ambition had extended no farther than the exchange of his Deanry for that of *St. Paul's*, vacant by the promotion of Dr. STILLINGFLEET to the Bishopric of *Worcester* upon the death of Dr. THOMAS. This was readily granted him in *September* 1689, and he was install'd on the 21st of *November*. This exchange of preferments is observ'd by Bishop BURNET<sup>k</sup> to have considerably lessen'd the Dean's income; but that it delivered him from the invidious load of having

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two

<sup>e</sup> The two last facts are taken from the MS. notes of Mr. DE MAIZEAUX in my possession.

<sup>h</sup> Vol. I. p. 392.

<sup>i</sup> Mr. WHARTON's preface to Archbishop LAUD's trial.

<sup>k</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 20, 21.

two dignities; which he bore in the former reigns, because the practice was common, as he was enabled by it to go far in his charities: But that as he intended to put a stop to that abuse, he resolv'd to set an example to others in it. This passage has been understood to imply, that the Dean resign'd his Residentiaryship of *St. Paul's*, when he took the Deanry: But that was not the case, as I find by the registers of that church; both those preferments being probably consider'd by him as one, and appearing to be of less value at that time than the Deanry of *Canterbury* with the Residentiaryship of *St. Paul's*, especially when there were taken into the estimate the fees of admission into the new dignity, the first fruits, the expence of fitting up and furnishing the Deanry-house, and the advanc'd age of the Dean, with an apoplectic fit, which he had suffer'd. And what Bishop BURNET remarks is certain, that he considerably lessen'd his income by the exchange, since during the two years of his holding the Deanry of *St. Paul's*, he had only one fine, and that a small one; whereas the fines are usually one third of the income. But however satisfied he was in that situation, his Majesty would not let him rest, till he submitted to a much higher post, to which he had an almost unconquerable aversion. But before the circumstances of this affair are open'd, it will be proper to give a just representation of another very important one, of which he had the principal share of the trouble, while it was depending, and of the odium attending the progress and event of it.

This was the scheme of a *comprehension*, which had been in vain attempted under the reign of CHARLES II, but in the succeeding one was projected and promis'd by Archbishop SANCROFT, and his brethren, from a sense of the danger of disunion among Protestants. Those of the church, who then saw the Papists endeavouring to draw the

Dissenters to concur with them in their designs against the church of *England*, applied to the Prince of ORANGE, desiring him to make use of his interest with them for diverting them from such a concurrence; and in the letters wrote for that purpose, assurances were given, that the church was then in such a temper, and so well convinc'd of former errors, that if ever she escap'd from her present distress, all those differences should be certainly made up<sup>k</sup>. In the articles recommended by Archbishop SANCROFT to all the Bishops within his metropolitical jurisdiction, on the 16th of *July* 1688, containing some heads of things to be more fully insisted by the Bishops in their addresses to the Clergy and people of their respective dioceses, the Clergy are advis'd, “ to have a very tender regard  
 “ to our brethren the Protestant Dissenters: that  
 “ upon occasion offer'd, they visit them at their  
 “ houses, and receive them kindly at their own,  
 “ treating them fairly where-ever they meet them,  
 “ discoursing calmly and civilly with them, persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance  
 “ with our church, or at least, that whereto we  
 “ have already attained, we may all walk by the  
 “ same rule, and mind the same thing; and, in  
 “ order thereunto, that they take all opportunities  
 “ of assuring them, that the Bishops of this church  
 “ are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to  
 “ the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the church of *Rome*, and that the very  
 “ unkind jealousies, which some have had of us to  
 “ the contrary, were altogether groundless. . . .  
 “ And in the last place, that they warmly and most  
 “ affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily  
 “ fervent prayer to the God of peace for an universal blessed union of all reformed churches,  
 “ both at home and abroad, against our common  
 “ ene-

<sup>k</sup> Bishop BURNET's triennial visitation charge, in 1704.

“ enemies ; and that all they, who do confess the  
 “ holy name of our dear LORD, and do agree in  
 “ the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one  
 “ holy communion, and live in perfect unity and  
 “ godly love.” The Archbishop foreseeing some  
 such revolution, as soon after was happily brought  
 about, began to consider, how utterly unprepared  
 they had been at the restoration of King CHARLES  
 II. to settle many things to the advantage of the  
 church, and what a happy opportunity had been  
 lost, for want of such a previous care, as he was  
 therefore desirous should now be taken for the better  
 and more perfect establishment of it. And he at  
 the same time was considering what might be done  
 to gain the Dissenters, without doing any prejudice  
 to the church. The scheme was laid out, and the  
 several parts of it were committed, not only with  
 his approbation, but likewise direction, to such Di-  
 vines of the church, as were thought most proper  
 to be intrusted with it. His Grace took one part  
 to himself; another was committed to Dr. PATRICK,  
 afterwards Bishop of *Ely*. And the reviewing of  
 the daily service and communion book was referr’d  
 to a select number of Divines, of whom Dr. SHARP,  
 afterwards Archbishop of *York*, and Dr. PATRICK,  
 were two. The design was to improve and inforce  
 the discipline of the church, to review and enlarge  
 the liturgy, by correcting some things, and adding  
 others ; and, if it should be thought adviseable by  
 authority, when this matter should come to be legally  
 consider’d, first in convocation, then in parliament,  
 by leaving some few ceremonies, confess’d to be in-  
 different in their natures, as indifferent in their usage,  
 so as not necessarily to be observ’d by such, who  
 should make a scruple of them \*.

How

\* Speech of Dr. WAKE, Bishop of *Lincoln*, at the opening of  
 the second article of the impeachment against Dr. SACHEVE-  
 REL, *March 17. 17<sup>00</sup>*.



How far this design was, not only known to, but approv'd by the other Bishops, appears from the petition, for which seven of them were committed to the Tower, and try'd, but acquitted; wherein they declar'd their readiness "to come to such a temper with regard to the Dissenters, as should be thought fit, when that matter shall be consider'd and settled in parliament and convocation." The Prince of ORANGE in his *declaration*, dated at the Hague, *October 10th, 1688*, O. S. represented, that the design of his coming was no other but to have a free and lawful parliament, that so the two houses might concur in the preparing such laws, as they upon full and free debate should judge necessary and convenient, both for the confirming and executing the law concerning the test, and such other laws, as were necessary for the security and maintenance of the Protestant religion; as likewise for *making such laws, as might establish a good agreement between the church of England and all Protestant Dissenters, and cover and secure all those, who would live peaceably under the government, from all persecution upon account of their religion.* And Mr. WHARTON, in his *MS. Diary of his own life*, mentions a discourse of Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD, then Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and afterwards of *Worcester*, to him, on the 25th of *June 1688*, four days before the trials of the Bishops; in which that Prelate having observ'd, that the Papists had by their injustice and tyranny so exasperated the minds of the people in general, that the latter would soon drive them out of *England*, and banish, or perhaps destroy the King himself, since it was impossible for Popery to reign in *England* above a year, and that a wonderful change of things was approaching; he then said, that if himself and his brethren should escape the present rage of the Papists, they were resolved to use their utmost endeavours to purge the church

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from all corruptions; to procure the admission of the sober and pious Dissenters into the church, a thing so much wish'd for; to relieve even those, who were obstinate, by abolishing the penal laws; and to take intirely away the abuses of Chancellors, Officials, and Ecclesiastical courts<sup>a</sup>.

After the Prince of *Orange* was come to *St. James's*, the dissenting ministers in a body attending him there, his Highness assured them, that he would exert his utmost endeavours *for promoting a firm union among Protestants*. And upon his establishment on the throne, when they presented their address to him and Queen MARY, DR. BATES, in his speech to the King upon that occasion, observ'd to him :  
 “ We are encourag'd by your gracious promise  
 “ upon our first address, humbly to desire and hope,  
 “ that your Majesty will be pleased, by your wisdom  
 “ and authority to establish *a firm union of your Prote-*  
 “ *stant subjects* in the matters of religion, by mak-  
 “ ing the rule of Christianity to be the rule of conformi-  
 “ ty. Our blessed union in the purity and peace of the  
 “ Gospel will make the church a fair and lovely  
 “ type of heaven, and terrible to our antichristian  
 “ enemies. This will make *England* the steady  
 “ centre, from whence a powerful influence will be  
 “ deriv'd for the support of reformed Christianity  
 “ abroad.

<sup>a</sup> Is fausta omnia sperare jussit, adeo plebis enim animos injustitiâ & tyrannide exacerbasse Pontificios, ut omnes tumultu facto arreptisque armis, illos ex Angliâ quam citissimè eliminaturi essent, Regemque ipsum (quod factum nolumus) aut exilio aut nece mulcaturi. Utcunque verò fieri nullo modo posse, ut Papismus in Angliâ ultra annum regnaret : miram rerum catastrophën adesse, cui si ipse fociique episcopi, præsentî Pontificiorum rabie erepti, superfuerint, omni modo curaturos, ut ecclesiâ sordibus & corruptelis penitus exueretur, ut sectariis reformatis reditus in ecclesiæ sinum exoptati occasio ac ratio concederetur, si qui sobrii & pii essent : ut pertinacibus interim jugum levaretur, extinctis penitus legibus mulcatoriis : utque cancellariorum, officialium, & curiarum ecclesiasticarum abusus funditus tolleretur.

“ abroad. This will bring immortal honour to  
 “ your name above the triumphs of the most re-  
 “ nowned conquerors. We do assure your Majesty,  
 “ that we shall cordially embrace the terms of uni-  
 “ on, which the ruling wisdom of our Saviour has  
 “ prescrib’d in his word.” And in his speech  
 to Queen MARY he said, “ We humbly desire  
 “ your Majesty will be pleased by your wisdom and  
 “ goodness to compose the differences between your  
 “ Protestant subjects in things of less moment con-  
 “ cerning religion. We hope those reverend per-  
 “ sons, who conspire with us in the main end, the  
 “ glory of God, and the public good, will consent  
 “ to terms of union, wherein all the reformed  
 “ churches agree.” The King in his answer assured  
 them, that whatever was in his power should be  
 employ’d for obtaining such a union ; and the Queen,  
 that she would use all endeavours for the obtaining a  
 union, that is necessary for the edifying of the church.  
 His Majesty likewise in his speech to the parliament  
 on the 16th of *March* 168<sup>8</sup> told them, that he hoped,  
 that they would make room for the admission of all  
 Protestants, who were willing and able to serve ;  
 since this conjunction in his service would tend to  
 the better uniting them among themselves, and the  
 strengthening them against their common adver-  
 saries.

In conformity to this desire of the King, first sig-  
 nified to his Privy-council, when the *act for the ab-*  
*rogating of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and*  
*appointing other oaths in their stead,* was read a se-  
 cond time in the House of Lords, a select com-  
 mittee of that House was order’d to draw up two  
 clauses ; the one to *explain the abrogating the said*  
*oaths,* the other to *take away the necessity of receiving*  
*the sacrament to make a man capable of enjoying any*  
*office, employment, or place of trust.* But this latter  
 clause being reported to the House, was rejected by  
 a great

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a great majority; the Lords DELAMERE, STAMFORD, NORTH AND GREY, CHESTERFIELD, WHARTON, LOVELACE, and VAUGHAN, entering their dissent, and insisting, "that an hearty union among Protestants was a greater security to the church and state, than any test that could be invented: That this obligation to receive the sacrament was a test on the Protestants, rather than on the Papists: That as long as it continued, there could not be that hearty and thorough union amongst Protestants, as had always been wish'd, and was at this time indispensably necessary: And, lastly, that a greater caution ought not to be required from such, as were admitted into offices, than from the members of two Houses of parliament, who were not obliged to receive the sacrament, to enable them to sit in either House." This point being lost, another attempt was made in favour of the moderate Dissenters, by inserting a clause in the said bill, *To prevent the receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper upon any other account, than in obedience to the holy institution thereof*; and to provide that any man should be sufficiently qualified for any office, employment, or place of trust, who within a year before or after his admission or entrance thereinto, did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, either according to the usage of the church of *England*, or in any other Protestant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the minister, or two other credible witnesses, members of such a Protestant congregation. But this was likewise rejected by a great majority, six Lords, OXFORD, LOVELACE, WHARTON, MORDAUNT, MONTAGU, and PAGET, entering their dissent.

But though these designs fail'd, the toleration act easily pass'd both Houses, and received the royal assent on the 24th of *May* 1689, under the title of  
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an *Act for exempting their Majesties Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws.* It excused the Dissenters from all penalties for their not coming to church, and for going to their separate meetings. There was an exception of Papists or Popish Recusants; and of such as should deny in preaching or writing the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, as it is declared in the 39 Articles. But a provision was inserted in favour of the *Quakers*; and though the rest were required to take the oaths to the government, they were excused upon making in lieu thereof a solemn declaration. The Dissenters were to certify their places of worship to the Bishop of the Diocese, or to the Archdeacon, or to the Justices of the peace, at their general or Quarter Sessions; there to be register'd, and the Register or Clerk of the peace is requir'd to register the same, and to give certificates thereof. It had been propos'd by some members of the parliament, that this act should only be temporary, as a necessary restraint upon the Dissenters, that they might demean themselves so, as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years now offer'd should end. But this was rejected, there being now so general a disposition to pass the act, as could not be expected at another time<sup>w</sup>.

Another bill was likewise under the consideration of the parliament, *for uniting their Majesties Protestant subjects*; to which some amendments being propos'd in the House of Lords, and the question being put on the 4th of *April*, whether to agree with the committee in leaving out the clause about the *indifferency of the posture at the receiving the sacrament*? and the votes being equal, it was, according to the antient rule in the like case, carried in the negative. The next day the Lords resum'd the debate of the report of the said amendments, particularly

<sup>w</sup> BURNET, *vol. II. p. 106*

larly of a clause concerning a *commission to be given out by the King to some Bishops, and others of the Clergy*; and it was propos'd, that *some laymen should be added in the commission*: upon which the question being put, the votes, including the proxies, were equal, and so it was again carried in the negative, four Lords, the Marquis of WINCHESTER, Lord MORDAUNT, Lord LOVELACE, and the Earl of STAMFORD entering their dissent with the following reasons: 1. Because the act itself being, as the preamble sets forth, design'd for the peace of the State, the putting the Clergy into commission, with a total exclusion of the laity, lays this humiliation on the laity, as if the Clergy of the church of *England* were alone friends to the peace of the State; and the laity less able, or less concern'd to provide for it. 2. Because the matters to be consider'd being barely of human constitution, *viz.* the liturgy and ceremonies of the church of *England*, which had their establishment from King, Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled in parliament, there can be no reason, why the Commissioners for altering any thing in that civil constitution should consist only of men of one sort of them; unless it be supposed, that human reason is to be quitted in this affair, and the inspiration of spiritual men to be alone depended upon. 3. Because, though, upon *Romish* principles, the Clergy may have a title to meddle alone in matters of religion, yet with us they cannot, where the church is acknowledged and defined to consist of Clergy and laity; and so those matters of religion, which fall under human determination, being properly the business of the church, belong to both; for in what is of divine institution, neither Clergy nor laity can make any alteration at all. 4. Because the pretending, that differences and delays may arise by mixing laymen with ecclesiastics, to the frustrating the design of the commission,

is vain and out of doors; unless those, who make use of this pretence, suppose, that the Clergy-part of the church have distinct interests or designs from the lay-part of the same church; and this will be a reason, if good, why one or other of them should quit the House for fear of obstructing the business of it. 5. Because the commission being intended for the satisfaction of Dissenters, it would be convenient, that laymen of different ranks, nay perhaps of different opinions too, should be mixed in it, the better to find expedients for that end, rather than Clergymen alone of our church, who are generally observed to have very much the same way of reasoning and thinking. 6. Because it is the most ready way to facilitate the passing the alterations into a law, that Lay-Lords and Commons should be join'd in the commission, who may be able to satisfy both the Houses of the reasons, upon which they were made, and thereby remove all fears and jealousies, which ill men may raise against the Clergy, of their endeavouring to keep up, without grounds, a distinct interest from that of the laity, whom they so carefully exclude from being join'd with them in consultations of common concernment, that they will not have those have any part in the declaration, who must have the greatest in the determining. 7. Because such a restrained commission lies liable to this great objection, that it might be made use of to elude repeated promises, and the present general expectation of compliance with tender consciences, when the providing for it is taken out of the ordinary course of parliament, to be put into the hands of those alone, who were latest in admitting any need of it, and who may be thought the more unfit to be the sole composers of our differences, when they are looked upon by some as parties. Lastly, because, after all, this carries a dangerous supposition with it, as if the laity were not a part of the

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church,

church, nor had any power to meddle in matters of religion; a supposition directly opposite to the constitution both of church and state, which will make all alterations utterly impossible, unless the Clergy alone be allow'd to have power to make laws in matters of religion, since what is establish'd by law, cannot be taken away or changed but by consent of laymen in parliament, the Clergy themselves having no authority to meddle in this very case, in which the laity are excluded by this vote, but what they derive from lay hands. These reasons were sign'd by the Marquis of WINCHESTER, and the Lords MORDAUNT and LOVELACE; and the Earl of STAMFORD wrote under them, that he dissented for the following, as well as other reasons, because it is contrary to the three statutes made in the reign of HENRY VIII. and one in EDWARD VI. which empower thirty-two commissioners to alter the canon and ecclesiastical laws, &c. whereof sixteen to be of the laity, and sixteen of the Clergy.

Bishop BURNET, who had been consecrated to the See of *Salisbury*, *March 31, 1689*, upon the death of Dr. SETH WARD, argued warmly on the other side, imagining, that the Clergy would have come into the design of the bill with zeal and unanimity; and being apprehensive, that the propos'd amendment of the clause would be look'd on by them, as taking the matter out of their hands. But he was soon after convinc'd, that he had taken wrong measures, and that the method, propos'd by the Lords on the other side, was the only one like to be effectual. Nor did his opposition to it so recommend him to the Clergy, as to balance the censure, under which he fell, for moving, in another proviso in that bill, that the subscription, instead of *assent* and *consent*, should be only *submit* with a promise of conformity; and for his zeal for the other clause  
above-



above-mentioned, of dispensing with the posture of kneeling at the sacrament<sup>a</sup>.

While this bill and that of toleration were depending, Mr. LOCKE, whose principles are well known to have been favourable to both, wrote a letter dated *March 12, 1688*,<sup>o</sup> to his friend PHILIP A' LIMBORCH, an eminent writer and professor of divinity among the *Arminians* in *Amsterdam*, in which he declared it as his opinion, that the episcopal Clergy were no great friends to those bills, and other matters then in agitation in *England*; "whether, says he, to their own or the nation's advantage, let them consider."

The bill of *union* as well as that of toleration had been moved for by some of the Bishops, who afterwards scrupled the oaths; and they both were drawn and offered by the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had been appointed one of the principal secretaries of state on the day of their Majesties proclamation; and they were the same, which had been prepared for the House of Commons in King CHARLES II's reign, during the debates of the exclusion; but then considered rather as artifices to allay the heat of that time, and to render the church party more popular. And even now those, who had moved for the bill of *union*, and afterwards brought it into the House, acted a very disingenuous part; for while they studied to recommend themselves by this shew of moderation, they set on their friends to oppose it; and such, as were sincere and cordially for it, were represented as the enemies of the Church, who intended to subvert it. When the bill had passed the Lords, and was sent down to the House of Commons, it was suffer'd to lie upon the table<sup>q</sup>; and instead of

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<sup>a</sup> BUNNET, *vol. II. p. 10, 11.*

<sup>o</sup> Familiar letters between Mr. LOCKE, and several of his friends, *p. 329, 330.*

<sup>p</sup> BURNET, *vol. II. p. 6.*

<sup>q</sup> *Ibid. p. 11.*

proceeding in it, they resolved upon an address to the King, in which they were joined by the Lords, and which was presented to his Majesty on the 20th of *April*, desiring him to continue his care for the preservation of the Church of *England*, established by law; and to issue forth writs, according to the ancient usage and practice of the kingdom in time of parliament, for calling a convocation of the Clergy, to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters; assuring him, that it was their intention forthwith to proceed to the consideration of giving ease to Protestant-dissenters. The King returned no answer till the next day, when he declared, that the Church of *England* should always be his peculiar care; and he hop'd, that the ease, which they designed to Dissenters, would contribute very much to the establishment of the Church; and therefore earnestly recommended to them, that the occasions of differences and mutual animosities might be removed; and that, as soon as conveniently might be, he would summon a Convocation.

The party, which was now beginning to be formed against the government, pretended great zeal for the Church, and declared their apprehension, that it was in danger; which was imputed by many to the Earl of *Nottingham's* management. These, as they went heavily into the toleration, so they were much offended with the bill of union, as containing matters relating to the Church, in which the representative body of the Clergy had not been so much as advised with. Nor was that bill supported by those, who seemed most favourable to the Dissenters. They proceeded upon a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a strong faction in church and state; and thought, that it was not agreeable to this, to suffer so great a body as the Presbyterians to be more easy or more inclinable to the church; and that the toleration would be best maintained, when great numbers should

should need it, and be concern'd to preserve it. This design therefore being zealously oppos'd, and but faintly promoted, prov'd abortive. The temper and situation of the nation during the agitation of this affair, will appear from a conversation, related by Sir JOHN RERESBY<sup>\*</sup>, Governor of *York*, who was present, between the Marquis of *Halifax*, Lord-privy-seal, and the Bishop of *Salisbury*, who a few days after their Majesties coronation, complained highly of the slow proceedings of the House of Commons, saying, that the *Dutch* would clap up a peace with *France*, if they did not mend their pace; and observ'd, that the church of *England* was in the fault, expressing himself, as if he thought, that they meant a kindness to King JAMES by their method of procedure. The Lord-privy-seal agreed with him in his sentiments, and added, that the church-people hated the *Dutch*, and had rather turn Papists, than receive the Presbyterians among them: But that on the other hand these were to the full as rank and inveterate against those, and would mar all their business by their inadvertence with regard to their bill of comprehension, and their ill-timing of other bills: In short, that they would disgust those, from whom they looked for indulgence. Both his Lordship and the Bishop were angry with the Commons address to the King the day before, desiring him to support and defend the church of *England* according to his former declaration, and to call a Convocation of the clergy, which the Bishop said would be the utter ruin of the comprehension scheme.

While the bill of *union* was depending in parliament, Dean TILLOTSON, as we are informed by Dr. NICHOLS<sup>†</sup>, persuaded the King to pursue another method for accomplishing the design of it. He re-

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<sup>\*</sup> Ibid. p. 11.

<sup>\*</sup> See his Memoirs, p. 343, 344. Edit. 1735.

<sup>†</sup> Apparatus ad defensionem Eccles. Anglicanæ. p. 93.

mind his Majesty of the reproach often cast upon the reformation by the Papists, that it was founded chiefly upon parliamentary authority ; and that no handle ought for the future to be given for such an objection. That the affairs of the church chiefly belonged to synodical authority ; and if they were pass'd by the members of the Convocation, they would not only be more acceptable to the body of the clergy, but would be more religiously observed by the laity. He added, that less affairs of this nature, consisting of such a multitude of particulars, might proceed too slowly in so numerous a body, it would be best, as had been formerly done, for his Majesty to authorize by his letters-patent several of the most eminent of the clergy to consider of some methods of healing the wounds of the church, and establishing a durable peace ; that so what they should agree upon, being laid before a convocation, might first have their sanction, and then that of parliamentary authority. In pursuance of this advice, the King summon'd a Convocation, and issued out likewise on the 13th of *September*, 1689, a commission to ten Bishops and twenty Divines, to prepare matters to be consider'd by the Convocation. It was in these terms :

“ Whereas the particular forms of divine worship  
 “ and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used  
 “ therein, being things in their own nature indiffer-  
 “ ent and alterable, and so acknowledg'd ; it is  
 “ but reasonable, that upon weighty and important  
 “ considerations, according to the various exigen-  
 “ cies of times and occasions, such changes and al-  
 “ terations should be made therein, as to those, that  
 “ are in place and authority, should from time to  
 “ time seem either necessary or expedient : And  
 “ whereas the book of canons is fit to be review'd,  
 “ and made more suitable to the state of the church ;  
 “ and whereas there are defects and abuses in the  
 “ eccle-



“ ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions, and particularly there is not sufficient provision made for the removing of scandalous ministers, and for the reforming of manners either in ministers or people : And whereas it is most fit, that there should be a strict method prescrib’d for the examination of such persons, as desire to be admitted into holy orders, both as to their learning and manners :

“ We therefore, out of our pious and princely care for the good order, and edification, and union of the church of *England*, committed to our charge and care, and for the reconciling, as much as is possible, of all differences among our good subjects, and to take away all occasions of the like for the future, have thought fit to authorize and impower you, &c. and any nine of you, whereof three to be Bishops, to meet from time to time, as often as shall be needful, and to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, and to consider such other matters, as in your judgments may most conduce to the ends above-mentioned.”

The Bishops in this commission were Dr. THOMAS LAMPLUGH, Archbishop of *York* ; Dr. HENRY COMPTON, Bishop of *London* ; Dr. PETER MEW of *Winchester* ; Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD of *St. Asaph* ; Dr. THOMAS SPRAT of *Rocheſter* ; Dr. THOMAS SMITH of *Carlisle* ; Dr. JONATHAN TRELAWNEY of *Exeter* ; Dr. GILBERT BURNET of *Salisbury* ; Dr. HUMPHREY HUMPHREYS of *Bangor* ; and Dr. NICHOLAS STRATFORD of *Cheſter*. The twenty Divines were Dr. EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, Dean of *St. Paul’s*, and soon after Bishop of *Worceſter* ; Dr. SIMON PATRICK, Dean of *Peterborough*, and soon after Bishop of *Chicheſter* ; Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON, Dean of *Canterbury*, and soon

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after of *St. Paul's*; Dr. RICHARD MEGGOT, Dean of *Winchester*; Dr. JOHN SHARP, Dean of *Norwich*; Dr. RICHARD KIDDER, soon after made Dean of *Peterborough*; Dr. HENRY ALDRICH, Dean of *Christ Church, Oxford*; Dr. WILLIAM JANE, Regius-professor of divinity in the university of *Oxford*; Dr. JOHN HALL, Margaret-professor of divinity in the same university; Dr. JOSEPH BEAUMONT, Regius-professor of divinity in the university of *Cambridge*; Dr. JOHN MONTAGU, Master of *Trinity College, Cambridge*; Dr. JOHN GOODMAN, Archdeacon of *Middlesex*; Dr. WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, Archdeacon of *Colchester*; Dr. JOHN BATTLEY, Archdeacon of *Canterbury*; Dr. CHARLES ALSTON, Archdeacon of *Essex*; Dr. THOMAS TENISON, Archdeacon of *London*; Dr. JOHN SCOTT, Prebendary of *St. Paul's*; Dr. EDWARD FOWLER, Prebendary of *Glocester*; Dr. ROBERT GROVE, Prebendary of *St. Paul's*; and Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, Prebendary of *St. Paul's*.

About the time of passing this commission, Dean TILLOTSON drew up the following paper, of which there is a copy enter'd in short-hand into his common-place-book, intitled, "Concessions, which  
" will probably be made by the church of *England*  
" for the union of Protestants; which I sent to the  
" Earl of *Portland* by Dr. STILLINGFLEET Sept. 13,  
" 1689.

" 1. That the ceremonies injoin'd or recommended in the liturgy, or canons, be left indifferent.

" 2. That the liturgy be carefully reviewed, and  
" such alterations and changes therein made, as  
" may supply the defects, and remove, as much  
" as is possible, all grounds of exception to any  
" part of it, by leaving out the apocryphal lessons,  
" and correcting the translation of the Psalms, used  
" in

“ in the public service, where there is need of it ;  
“ and in many other particulars.

“ 3. That, instead of all former declarations and  
“ subscriptions to be made by ministers, it shall be  
“ sufficient for them, that are admitted to the ex-  
“ ercise of their ministry in the church of *England*,  
“ to subscribe one general declaration and promise  
“ to this purpose, *viz.* that we do submit to the  
“ doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church  
“ of *England*, as it shall be established by law, and  
“ promise to teach and practise accordingly.

“ 4. That a new body of ecclesiastical canons be  
“ made, particularly with a regard to a more ef-  
“ fectual provision for the reformation of manners  
“ both in ministers and people.

“ 5. That there be an effectual regulation of ec-  
“ clesiastical courts, to remedy the great abuses and  
“ inconveniencies, which by degrees, and length  
“ of time, have crept into them ; and particularly,  
“ that the power of excommunication be taken out  
“ of the hands of lay officers, and placed in the  
“ Bishop, and not to be exercised for trivial mat-  
“ ters, but upon great and weighty occasions.

“ 6. That for the future those, who have been  
“ ordained in any of the foreign reformed churches,  
“ be not required to be re-ordained here, to render  
“ them capable of preferment in this church.

“ 7. That for the future none be capable of any  
“ ecclesiastical benefice or preferment in the church  
“ of *England*, that shall be ordained in *England*  
“ otherwise than by Bishops. And that those, who  
“ have been ordained only by Presbyters, shall not  
“ be compelled to renounce their former ordina-  
“ tion. But because many have, and do still doubt  
“ of the validity of such ordination, where episco-  
“ pal ordination may be had, and is by law re-  
“ quired, it shall be sufficient for such persons to  
“ receive ordination from a Bishop in this or the  
“ like

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“ like form : *If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee, &c.* as in case a doubt be made of any one’s baptism, it is appointed by the liturgy, that he be baptised in this form, *If thou art not baptised, I baptise thee, &c.*”

This last propofal of the Dean with refpect to an hypothetical ordination of thofe, who were before ordain’d in *England* by Prefbyters, agreed with the fentiments of one of the moft learned and judicious Prelates of the beginning of that century, Dr. JOHN OVERAL, Bifhop of *Norwich*, with regard to the ordination of the minifters of the foreign reformed church. This excellent Prelate, whofe correſpondence by letters with GROTIUS is publiſh’d in that uſeful collection, intituled, *Præſtantium & eruditorum virorum epistolæ eccleſiaſticae & theologicae*, was at firſt Fellow of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, then maſter of *Catharine-Hall*, and Regius-profefſor of Divinity in that univerſity, promoted in the beginning of the year 1601-2 to the Deanry of *St. Paul’s* by Queen ELIZABETH, at the recommendation of Sir FULK GREVILL, afterwards Lord BROOK ; and in April 1614 advanc’d to the Biſhopric of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, from which he was tranſlated in 1618 to that of *Norwich*, where he died the 12th of *May* the year following. I have now before me a long letter of his Secretary Mr. JOHN COSIN<sup>a</sup>, afterwards Biſhop of *Durham*, containing many curious particulars relating both to ANTONIO DE DOMINIS Archbiſhop of *Spalato*, and Biſhop OVERAL ; of whom I ſhall mention one fact connected with the point above-mentioned, of which Mr. COSIN himſelf was witneſs. Dr. DE LAUNE, who tranſlated the *Engliſh* liturgy into *French*, being collated to a Living, and coming to the Biſhop, then at *Norwich*, with his preſentation, his Lordſhip

<sup>a</sup> Communicated to me by the honourable Sir Thomas BURNET, Knt. one of his Majeſty’s Juſtices of the Common-pleas.



ship ask'd him, where he had his orders. He answer'd, that he was ordain'd by the Presbytery at *Leyden*. The Bishop upon this advis'd him to take the opinion of counsel, whether by the laws of *England* he was capable of a benefice without being ordain'd by a Bishop. The Doctor replied, that he thought his Lordship would be unwilling to re-ordain him, if his counsel should say, that he was not otherwise capable of the Living by law. The Bishop rejoin'd, "*Re-ordination* we must not admit, no more than a *re-baptization*: But in case you find it doubtful, whether you be a Priest capable to receive a benefice among us, or no, I will do the same office for you, if you desire it, that I should do for one, who doubts of his baptism, when all things belonging essentially unto it have not been duly observed in the administration of it, according to the rule in the book of Common-prayer, *If thou beest not already*, &c. Yet for mine own part, if you will adventure the orders that you have, I will admit your presentation, and give you institution into the Living howsoever." But the title, which this presentation had from the patron, proving not good, there were no farther proceedings in it; yet afterwards Dr. LE LAUNE was admitted into another benefice without any new ordination. Mr. COSIN adds another relation to the same purpose concerning Mr. WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, who translated the 119th Psalm into metre, the initial letters of his name being still set before it. He had been ordained a minister at *Geneva*, in the reign of Queen MARY; and in that of Queen ELIZABETH having the Deanry of *Durham* conferr'd upon him\*, was question'd by Dr. SANDYS Archbishop of *York*, as having no title to or capacity for that dignity, because he was not

\* July 19th 1562, by the interest of the Earl of *Leicester*. The Dean died 10th of June 1579.

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not ordain'd a Priest by a Bishop. The case was therefore disputed and travers'd in divers courts; but Mr. WHITTINGHAM had judgment finally in his favour, it being declar'd, that ordination beyond the seas was equivalent to our ordination in *England*: And for the better confirmation of this a bill was preferr'd in Parliament, which pass'd both houses; and this statute, which was either 13 *Eliz. chapt. 8.* or 8 *Eliz. chapt. 13.* enacted, that whosoever alledg'd to have been ordain'd a minister beyond the seas, if he subscrib'd to the 39 articles of religion, might be admitted to a benefice in the church of *England*. But I find the following remark, probably of Bishop BURNET, upon this last story in his Lordship's copy of the letter; that the statute pointed at was 13 *Eliz. chapt. 12*; but in which there is in fact no indication, that the ground of it was to justify Mr. WHITTINGHAM's ordination: but most probably the business was, that whereas the ministers of the church of *England* had given security of themselves at their ordination, which those, who had been ordain'd in the reigns of King HENRY VIII. or Queen MARY, or in the *Lutheran* churches, had not; the latter might be obliged to do the like. And that the statute had only some such aim, is evident by the determination of its force upon so sudden a date as the following *Christmas*. " I have look'd, *says the re-*  
*marker,* over such reports, as I could get, and  
 " can meet with no such thing as this WHITTING-  
 " HAM's case, and therefore guess the story to be  
 " no more than tradition and hearsay. In the story  
 " there is this misadventure, that the statute 13  
 " *Eliz.* could not be referr'd to, for SANDYS was  
 " not Archbishop of *York* until the 18 *Eliz.* WHIT-  
 " TINGHAM might retain his Deanry by virtue of  
 " his letters patents, tho' no priest; nothing being  
 " frequenter than for Dignities and Prebends to be  
 " held

“ held by them, who were no priests, a long while  
 “ after the 13 *Eliz.* even in the time of King  
 “ JAMES; and before that statute some benefices  
 “ with cure had been held, as I have heard. The sta-  
 “ tute 5 *Edward VI.* 1. for the ordaining of Priests  
 “ and Deacons, as well as consecrating of Bishops,  
 “ doth impose the same penalties on such, as use  
 “ other form of consecrating, &c. as are inflicted  
 “ on such, as use any other form of Common-  
 “ prayer. Those penalties are somewhat altered  
 “ and made greater by the statute 1 *Eliz. chapt. 2.*  
 “ That statute for consecrating, &c. 5 *Edw. VI.*  
 “ *chapt. 1.* is confirm’d in all parts, 8 *Eliz.*  
 “ *chapt. 1.* So then the penalties on other form of  
 “ consecrating must be fetch’d from 2 or 3 *Edw.*  
 “ *VI. chapt. 5. Edw. VI. chapt. 1. and 1 Eliz.*  
 “ *chapt. 2.* together with the confirmation of 8  
 “ *Eliz. 1.*”

But to return to the proceedings of the ecclesiastical commissioners; they open’d their commission at the *Jerusalem-Chamber* on the 10th of *October* 1689; but some named in it either did not appear, or soon deserted their brethren. Among these were the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Rocheſter*, the latter of whom had sat in an ecclesiastical commission of a very illegal nature in the late reign; Dr. ALDRICH, and Dr. JANE. The last of these was son of JOSEPH JANE of *Leskard* in *Cornwall*, Esq; member for that borough in the long parliament, till his loyalty forc’d him to retire to *Oxford*, and afterwards abroad, where he wrote an answer to *Milton’s* *Εἰκονοκλάτης* under the title of *Εἰκὼν ἀκλάστος*, or the *Image unbroken*. Dr. JANE was educated at *Westminster* school, from whence he was elected in 1660 a Student of *Christ-Church, Oxford*, of which he was afterwards Canon in 1678, and Dean of *Gloucester*, in which dignity he was install’d on the 6th of *June* 1685, and held with it the *Præcentorship* of

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of the church of *Exeter*. He was the great promoter of, and had the chief hand in drawing up the famous *judgment and decree* of the university of *Oxford*, pass'd in the Convocation there on the 21st of July 1683, against certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, destructive to the sacred persons of Princes, their state and government, and of all human society; which was presented on the 24th of that month in *Latin* and *English* by Dr. ROBERT HUNTINGDON, afterwards Bishop of *Raphoe* in *Ireland*, to King CHARLES II. in the presence of the Duke of *York*, and the principal persons of the court, who all shew'd the highest satisfaction in it; tho' this decree had afterwards the disgrace of being burnt by the common executioner by order of the house of Lords in 1710. Notwithstanding the principles avow'd in it, Dr. JANE was one of the four sent by that university to the Prince of ORANGE, then at *Hungerford*, in his march to *London*, to offer his Highness their plate, which the Prince refused; but the Doctor thought his own merit so great, that he took that opportunity of asking for the Bishopric of *Exeter*, void by the translation of Bishop LAMPLUGH to the Archbishopric of *York*. Not succeeding in his request, that Bishopric having been before promis'd to Dr. TRELAWNEY Bishop of *Bristol*, he was so far disgusted, that he was ever after a secret enemy of King WILLIAM and his government, though he had appear'd himself so early in the revolution<sup>2</sup>. He lived some years after Queen ANNE's accession to the throne without being advanc'd higher in the church, dying on the 6th of *February* 1706.

The rest of the commissioners applied themselves closely to the work assign'd them for several weeks.

They

<sup>1</sup> Vita ROB. HUNTINGDONI, Scriptore THO. SMITH, S. T. D. p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Dr. HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, p. 55, 56.



They had before them all the exceptions, which either the Puritans before the war, or the Nonconformists since the restoration, had made to any part of the church service. They had likewise many propositions and advices, which had been offer'd at several times by many of our Bishops and Divines, upon those heads, of which Bishop STILLINGFLEET had made a great collection. Matters were well consider'd, and freely and calmly debated; and all was digested into an intire correction of every thing, that seem'd liable to any just objection<sup>a</sup>. They began with reviewing the liturgy; and first they examin'd the calendar, in which, in the room of *apocryphal* lessons, they order'd certain chapters of *canonical* Scripture to be read, that were more for the people's edification. The *Athanasian* creed being disliked by many persons on account of the damnatory clause, it was left to the ministers choice to use, or change it for the Apostle's creed. New collects were drawn up more agreeable to the Epistles and Gospels for the whole course of the year, and with a force and beauty of expression capable of affecting and raising the mind in the strongest manner. The first draught of them was compos'd by Dr. PATRICK, who was esteem'd to have a peculiar talent for composing prayers. Dr. BURNET added to them yet farther force and spirit. Dr. STILLINGFLEET then examin'd every word in them with the exactest judgment; and Dr. TILLOTSON gave them the last hand, by the free and masterly touches of his natural and flowing eloquence. Dr. KIDDER, who was well vers'd in the *oriental* languages, made a new version of the Psalms more conformable to the original. Dr. TENISON having collected the words and expressions throughout the liturgy, which had been excepted against, propos'd others in their room, which were more clear

<sup>a</sup> BURNET's History of his own time, vol. II. p. 31. and triennial visitation charge, ann. 1704.

clear and plain, and less liable to objection. Other things were likewise propos'd, which were left to be determin'd by the Convocation; as particularly, that the cross in baptism might be either used or omitted at the choice of the parents; and that a Nonconformist minister going over to the church should not be ordain'd according to the common form, but rather conditionally, in the same manner as infants are baptised, when there is no evidence of their being baptised before, with the addition of the episcopal benediction, as was customary in the ancient church, when Clergymen were admitted, who had been ordain'd by heretics; of which manner of ordination Dr. BRAMHALL, Archbishop of *Armagh*, had given a precedent, when he received some *Scots* Presbyters into the church<sup>a</sup>.

This abstract of the proceedings of the commissioners is said to have been communicated to Dr. NICHOLS<sup>b</sup> by Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*, who had drawn up an account of them: And the original of the alterations, suggested by these commissioners upon their review of the liturgy, was in the hands of Dr. TENISON, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was always cautious of trusting them out of his own keeping, alledging, that if they came to be public, they would give no satis-

<sup>a</sup> That Primate of *Ireland*, as appears from his *Life*, written by JOHN Bishop of *Limerick*, and prefix'd to his Grace's *works* printed at *Dublin* in 1677 in folio, inserted these words in the letters of orders, which he gave to Mr. EDWARD PARKINSON: *Nen annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundum determinantes, multò minus omnes ordines sacros Ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio judici relinquimus, sed solummodo supplentes quicquid prius defuit per Canones Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ requisitum, & providentes paci Ecclesiæ, ut Schismatis tollatur occasio, & conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ulli dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos Presbyteriales tanquam invalidos averseantur. In cujus rei testimonium, &c.*

<sup>b</sup> Apparat. p. 95, 96.

fatisfaction to either side, but be rather a handle for mutual reproaches, as one side would upbraid their brethren for having given up so much ; while the other would justify their non-conformity, because those concessions were too little, or however not yet pass'd into a law<sup>c</sup>. But a more particular account of the proceedings of the Commissioners, than that publish'd by Dr. NICHOLS, is inserted here from Dr. CALAMY<sup>d</sup>.

The committee being met in the *Jerusalem* chamber, a dispute arose about the authority and legality of the court ; the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, tho' he had so lately acted in an illegal one, being one of those who question'd it. The grounds of this scruple were the obligations the clergy lay under by act of parliament of King HENRY VIII. not to enter into any debates about making any alterations in church affairs, without the King's special and immediate privacy, and direction first given concerning such alterations. It was answered, that that must be done, either by an act of the King's own judgment, or by a private cabal (both which ways would be very exceptionable) or else by his Majesty's commission to a certain number of ecclesiastics to consult about, and prepare what was necessary to be altered, as it was in the present case. For moreover the commissioners pretended not to make these alterations obligatory by virtue of a law, but only to get them ready to lay before the Convocation, the very reports being not so much as to be referred to the Privy-council, lest they might be subject to be canvass'd and modell'd by lay-hands. However the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Rocheſter*, Dr. JANE, and Dr. ALDRICH, withdrew dissatisfied ; and the rest, after a list of all, that seem'd fit to be changed, was read  
N over,

<sup>c</sup> KENNET's complete history, vol. III. p. 591. Note D.

<sup>d</sup> Abridgment of the Life of Mr. R. BAXTER, p. 452—  
455.

over, proceeded very unanimously, and without any heats, in determining, as follows (each article, as soon as agreed on, being sign'd by the Bishop of London) viz.

That the chanting of divine service in cathedral churches shall be laid aside, that the whole may be rendered intelligible to the common people.

That besides the Psalms being read in their course as before, some proper and devout ones be selected for Sundays.

That the apocryphal lessons, and those of the Old Testament, which are too natural, be thrown out, and others appointed in their stead by a new calendar; which is already fully settled, and out of which are omitted all the legendary saints days, and others not directly referred to in the service book.

That not to send the vulgar to search the canons, which few of them ever saw, a rubric be made, setting forth the usefulness of the cross in baptism, not as an essential part of that sacrament, but only as a fit and decent ceremony. However, if any do, after all, in conscience scruple it, it may be omitted by the priest.

That likewise if any refuse to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper kneeling, it may be administered to them in their pews.

That a rubric be made, declaring the intention of the *Lent* fasts to consist only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in distinction of meats: And another to state the meaning of *Rogation Sundays*, and *Ember Weeks*, and appoint, that those ordain'd within the *Quatuor Tempora* do exercise strict devotion.

That the rubric, which obliges Ministers to read or hear *Common-prayer* publicly or privately every day, be changed to an exhortation to the people to frequent those prayers.

That



That the *absolution* in Morning and Evening prayer may be read by a Deacon; the word *Priest* in the rubric being changed into *Minister*, and those words, *and remission*, be put out, as not very intelligible.

That the *Gloria Patri* shall not be repeated at the end of every Psalm, but of all appointed for Morning and Evening prayer.

That those words in the *Te Deum*, *thine honourable, true, and only Son*, be thus turn'd, *thine only begotten Son*; *honourable* being only a civil term, and no where us'd in *sacris*.

The *Benedicite* shall be changed into the 128th Psalm, and other Psalms likewise appointed for the *Benedictus* and *Nunc dimittis*.

The *Versicles* after the Lord's prayer, &c. shall be read kneeling, to avoid the trouble and inconveniencies of so often varying postures in the worship. And after those words, *Give peace in our time, O Lord*, shall follow an answer promisory of somewhat on the people's part, of keeping God's law, or the like; the old response being grounded on the predestinating doctrine, taken in too strict an acceptance.

All high titles or appellations of the King, Queen, &c. shall be left out of the prayers, such as *most illustrious, religious, mighty*, &c. and only the word *Sovereign* retain'd for the King and Queen.

Those words in the prayer for the King, *Grant, that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies*, as of too large an extent, if the King engage in an unjust war, shall be turn'd thus, *Prosper all his righteous undertakings against thy enemies*, or after some such manner.

Those words in the prayer for the clergy, *Who alone workest great marvels*, as subject to be ill interpreted by persons vainly disposed, shall be thus, *Who alone art the author of all good gifts*: And

these words, *the healthful Spirit of thy grace*, shall be, *the holy Spirit of thy grace*, *healthful* being an obsolete word.

The prayer, which begins, *O God, whose nature and property*, shall be thrown out, as full of strange and impertinent expressions, and besides not in the original, but foisted in since by another hand<sup>e</sup>.

The *Collects*, for the most part, are to be changed for those, which the Bishop of *Chichester* has prepared, being a review of the old ones, with enlargements, to render them more sensible and affecting, and what expressions are needless, to be re-trenched.

If any Minister refuse the Surplice, the Bishop, if the people desire it, and the living will bear it, may substitute one in his place, who will officiate in it; but the whole thing is left to the discretion of the Bishops.

If any desire to have Godfathers and Godmothers omitted, and their children presented in their own names to baptism, it may be granted.

About the *Athanasian* creed, they came at last to this conclusion, that lest the wholly rejecting it should by unreasonable persons be imputed to them as Socinianism, a rubric shall be made, setting forth, or declaring the curses denounced therein not to be restrained

<sup>e</sup> Dr. NICHOLS in his *Commentary* affirms, that this Prayer was first brought into the Liturgy in the first year of King JAMES I. But Mr. WHEATLY asserts, that it was inserted in the Common-prayer-book of Queen ELIZABETH. It was at first plac'd just after the Prayer in the time of any common plague or sickness (that being the last of the prayers on particular occasions) but at the review of the common-prayer after the Restoration, the two prayers for the Ember-weeks were inserted just after that, and the prayer in question immediately follow'd them. The Printers indeed set it where it now usually stands, between the prayer for all conditions of men and the General Thanksgiving. But the Commissioners oblig'd them to print a new leaf, wherein it should stand just before the prayer for the Parliament. Notwithstanding which the Order has been neglected in all the subsequent Editions.

strained to every particular article, but intended against those that deny the substance of the Christian religion in general<sup>d</sup>.

Whether the amendment of the translation of the *reading Psalms* (as they are called) made by the Bishop of *St. Asaph* and Dr. KIDDER, or that in the bible, shall be inserted in the prayer-book, is wholly left to the Convocation to consider of and determine.

Several alterations were made in the *Litany*, *Communion Service*, &c.

Such were the proceedings of the commissioners, which had been protested against by their brethren, who had left them immediately after their first meeting, with a declaration, that they were against all alterations whatsoever. They thought, that too much had been already done for the Dissenters, in the toleration, which was granted them; and would do nothing to make them still easier. They said farther, that the altering of the customs and constitutions of our church, to gratify a peevish and obstinate party, was like to have no other effect on them, but to make them more insolent; as if the church, by offering these alterations, seemed to confess, that she had been hitherto in the wrong. They were of opinion, that this attempt would divide the church, and make the people lose their esteem for the Liturgy, if it appeared, that it wanted correction. They excepted also to the manner of preparing matters, by a special commission, as limiting the Convocation, and imposing upon it; and to load this with a word of an ill sound, they called this a new *ecclesiastical commission*. But in answer to all this it was said, that if by a few corrections and explanations, all just satisfaction were offered to the chief objections of the Dissenters, there was reason

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to

<sup>d</sup> This Article is not very consistent with Dr. NICHOLS's Account inserted above.

to hope, that this would bring over many of them, at least of the people, if not of the teachers among them : Or, if the prejudices of education wrought too strongly upon the present age, yet if some more sensible objections were put out of the way, it might well be hop'd, that it would have a great effect on the next generation. If these condescensions were made so, as to own, in the way of offering them, that the Nonconformists had been in the right, that might turn to the reproach of the church : But such offers being made only in regard to their weakness, the reproach fell on them ; as the honour accrued to the church, who shewed herself a true mother by her care to preserve her children. That it was not offer'd, that the ordinary posture of receiving the sacrament kneeling should be changed ; this being still to be the received and favoured posture, but that only such, as declared, that they could not overcome their scruples in that matter, were to be admitted to it in another posture. Ritual matters were of their own nature indifferent, and had been always declared to be so ; and all the necessity of them arose only from the authority in church and state, which had enacted them. It would therefore be an unreasonable stiffness to deny any abatement or yielding, in such matters, in order to the healing of the church's wounds. Great alterations had been made in such things in all ages of the church. Even the church of *Rome* was still making some alterations in her rituals. And changes had been made among ourselves often since the Reformation, in the reigns of King EDWARD, Queen ELIZABETH, King JAMES I. and King CHARLES II. These were always made upon some great turn, critical times being the most proper for designs of that kind. The toleration, now granted, seemed to render it more necessary than formerly to make the terms of communion with the church as large as might be, in order



order to draw over to it the greater number from those, who might now leave it more safely; and therefore the more care was to be used for the gaining them. And with regard to the manner of preparing these overtures, the King's supremacy signified little, if he could not appoint a select number to consider of such matters, as he might think fit to lay before the Convocation. This no way broke in upon their full freedom of debate, it being free to them to reject, as well as to accept of the propositions, that should be offer'd to them.

But while this important affair was thus argued, the party, which was now at work for the abdicated King, took hold on this occasion to inflame mens minds. It was pretended, that the church was to be demolished, and Presbytery set up: That all this now in debate was only intended to divide and distract the church, and to render it by that means both weaker and more ridiculous, while it departed from its former grounds, in offering such concessions. The universities took fire upon this, and began to declare against it, and against all, who promoted it, as men, who intended to undermine the church. Severe reflections were likewise cast on the King, as being in an interest contrary to the church; for the church was the word given out by the *Jacobite* party, under which they thought they might more safely shelter themselves. Great canvassings were every where in the election of members of the Convocation, a thing not known in former times; so that it was soon very visible, that the temper of men was not cool or calm enough to encourage the farther prosecution of such a design.

Those, who were friends to it, design'd Dr. TILLOTSON, now Dean of *St. Paul's*, for Prolocutor of the lower house; and the court was solicitous for

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the

\* BURNET, *vol. II. p. 32.*

† Ibid. *p. 32, 33.*

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the choice of him, from a persuasion, that his singular moderation and prudence in that chair would be able to influence that house to concur in promoting those ends, for which the Convocation was called. He was accordingly proposed by Dr. SHARP<sup>§</sup>, his successor in the Deanry of *Canterbury*, upon the meeting of the Convocation, on *Thursday November 21st, 1689*: But it was carried by a majority of two to one for Dr. JANE, the choice of whom is said to have been owing, not only to the general temper of the clergy, but likewise to the intrigues of the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Rocheſter*, who, on account of their near relation to the Queen, whose mother was their sister, expected, when the government was settled on King WILLIAM and her Majesty, to have had some of the higher employments under it. But being disappointed, they from resentment endeavoured to perplex and embarrass it, and, among other schemes for that purpose, set themselves to defeat whatever was intended to be done by the Convocation, and accordingly went to *Oxford*, where they found Dr. JANE prepared for their views by his own disappointment and ambition, as well as by his principles; whom having engaged to stand in competition against the Dean of *St. Paul's*, they supported him in it by all their interest<sup>¶</sup>.

But besides these there was another more secret cause of the opposition to the Dean of *St. Paul's*, and of the clamour rais'd on his account, both before and in the Convocation, which will appear from a letter of his to be produced hereafter. This took its rise from the Bishop of *London's* jealousy of the Dean's being intended by the King for the Archbishopric of *Canterbury*, which himself had once before been disappointed of, when Dr. SANCROFT, was promoted to it, and which he now seem'd to claim

<sup>§</sup> Letter to me from the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Dr. THOMAS SHARP, Archdeacon of *Northumberland*, dated at *Durham November 7, 1751*.

<sup>¶</sup> Life of Dr. PRIDEAUX, Dean of *Norwich*, p. 54, 55, 56.

claim as due to his conduct before, and especially at the Revolution, as well as to his rank and family, being the sixth and youngest son of SPENCER, Earl of *Northampton*, who fell in an engagement on *Hopton-Heath*, in *Staffordshire*, *March 19, 1644*, fighting with three of his sons for the royal cause. He was at first enter'd at *Queen's College* in *Oxford*, about 1649, and after about three years stay there, travelled into *France*, *Italy*, and other countries, and upon his return was after the restoration made a Cornet in the royal regiment of Horse-guards, under the command of AUBREY VERE, Earl of *Oxford*. Afterwards entering into holy orders, when he was above thirty years of age, he was in 1667 made Master of the hospital of *St. Cross* near *Winchester*, in *May 1669* Canon of *Christ Church*, and in *October 1674* Bishop of *Oxford*, and in *December* of the year following, upon the death of Dr. HUMPHRY HENCHMAN, translated to the See of *London*, in which he died on the 7th of *July, 1711*, in the 81st year of his age. He was an humble, modest, generous, and good natur'd man; but weak, wilful, much in the power of others, and strangely wedded to a party<sup>1</sup>. He applied himself more to his function than Bishops had commonly done, and went about his diocese, and preach'd and confirm'd in many places; but his preaching was without much vivacity or learning, as he had not pass'd thro' his studies with the exactness that was proper. He was a great Patron of the Converts from Popery, and of those Protestants, who had been oblig'd to leave *France* for their religion. His chief attachment during the reign of King CHARLES II. had been to the Lord-treasurer DANBY; but he was hated by the Duke of *York*, whom he greatly offended by his frequent complaints to the King of the insolence of the Papists, and especially of Mr. COLEMAN, the Duke's

<sup>1</sup> BURNET, *vol. I. p. 392.* and *vol. II. p. 630.*

Duke's Secretary <sup>k</sup>. He was one of those eminent persons in the following reign, who met at the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* house, for concerting proper advices for the Prince of *Orange's* conduct, and drawing up the declaration, on which they advised his Highness to engage <sup>l</sup>; and he joined in the invitation of that Prince by the persuasion of the Earl of *Danby* <sup>m</sup>. His opposition to the court after the revolution, in concurrence with the Tory party, began, after he had been set aside in the disposal of the Archbishopric to Dr. TILLOTSON, and it was still heighten'd upon the promotion of Dr. TENISON to that See; and in the reign of Queen ANNE he always supported those measures, which were most agreeable to her Majesty's own inclination and principles.

His Lordship's expectation of succeeding Archbishop SANCROFT upon the deprivation of the latter, and his *open falling out*, as Mr. WHARTON expresses it <sup>n</sup>, with the Dean of *St. Paul's*, are mentioned by that writer, who adds, that the Dean labour'd to exclude his Lordship from the Archbishopric, and earnestly pressed the King to give it to Bishop STILLINGFLEET. But for these two last facts I have not met with any other authority.

To resume the history of the Convocation, the new Prolocutor being presented on the 25th of *November* to the Bishop of *London*, President of the Convocation, whose Chaplain he had been, for his Lordship's approbation, made, according to custom, a speech in *Latin*, in which he extoll'd the excellency of the church of *England*, as establish'd by law, above all Christian communities, intimating, that it wanted no amendment, and concluding with the application of this sentence by way of triumph, *Nolu-*

*mus*

<sup>k</sup> BURNET, *vol. I. p. 392.*

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. *vol. I. p. 712.* <sup>m</sup> Ibid. *p. 794.*

<sup>n</sup> MS. Collections above-cited.



*mus leges Angliæ mutari.* The Bishop in his answer in the same language told the Clergy, that “ they ought to endeavour a temper in those things, that are not essential in religion, thereby to open the door of salvation to a multitude of straying Christians : That it must needs be their duty to shew the same indulgence and charity to the Dissenters under King WILLIAM, which some of the Bishops and Clergy had promised to them in their addresses to King JAMES.”

At the next meeting the Bishop acquainted the Convocation, that having communicated the royal commission, by which they were empower'd to act, to an eminent Civilian, he had found it defective in not having the Great Seal; for which reason he should prorogue them till that was procur'd. And on the fourth of *December* that commission, dated *November 30*, was brought, while both houses were together in HENRY VII's chapel, by the Earl of *Nottingham*, with a message from the King, representing, that his Majesty had summon'd this Convocation, not only because it was usual, upon holding a Parliament, but out of a pious zeal to do every thing, that might tend to the best establishment of the church of *England*, which is so eminent a part of the reformation, and is certainly the best suited to the constitution of this government, and therefore most signally deserv'd, and should always have, both his favour and protection: And that he doubted not, but that they would assist him in promoting the welfare of it, so that no prejudices, which some men might have labour'd to possess them with, should disappoint his good intentions, or deprive the church of any benefit from their consultations. That he therefore expected, that the things, that should be propos'd, should be calmly and impartially consider'd by them: And he assured them, that he would offer nothing to them, but what should be for the  
I honour,

honour, peace, and advantage both of the Protestant religion in general, and particularly of the church of *England*.

The Bishops agreed upon an address to his Majesty to thank him “ for the grace and goodness  
“ express’d in his message, and the zeal shewn  
“ in it for the Protestant religion in general, and  
“ the church of *England* in particular, and of the  
“ trust and confidence repos’d in the Convocation  
“ by the commission; which marks of his Majesty’s  
“ care and favour they look’d upon as the continuance of the great deliverance, which Almighty  
“ God had wrought for them by his means, by  
“ making him the blessed instrument of preserving  
“ them from falling under the cruelty of Popish  
“ tyranny. For which as they had often thank’d  
“ almighty God, so they could not forget that high  
“ obligation and duty, which they owed to his  
“ Majesty; and on these new assurances of his protection and favour to the church, they begged  
“ leave to renew the assurance of their constant fidelity and obedience to his Majesty, whom they  
“ pray’d God to continue long and happily to reign  
“ over them.”

The lower house of Convocation, who were determined to enter into no debates with relation to alterations, would not consent to this address; but first pleaded for the privilege of presenting a separate one of their own drawing up; and then waving that pretension, applied themselves to making amendments in the draughts sent them by the Bishops<sup>o</sup>, in which his Majesty’s *zeal for the Protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular*, was acknowledged, the lower house thinking, that this imported their owning some common union with the foreign Protestants<sup>p</sup>. The reason, which they assigned for refusing their concurrence with the Bishops

<sup>o</sup> KENNET, vol. III. p. 593. <sup>p</sup> BURNET, vol. II. p. 33.

Bishops in their form, was, that “ they were desirous to confine their address to his Majesty’s most gracious message, and to those things only therein, which concern’d the church of *England*.” This occasioned a conference between the two houses, which was chiefly manag’d between the Bishop of *Salisbury* and the Prolocutor ; and these reasons were reported, why the Bishops insisted on the express mention of the Protestant religion : 1. Because it is the known denomination of the common doctrine of the western part of Christendom, in opposition to the errors and corruptions of the church of *Rome*. 2. Because the leaving out this may have ill consequences, and be liable to strange constructions, both at home and abroad, among Protestants as well as Papists. 3. Because it agrees with the general reason offered by the Clergy for their amendments, since this was expressly mentioned in the King’s message ; and in this the church of *England* being so much concerned, their Lordships thought it ought to stand still in the address. The lower house, after debating these reasons, refused to consent to them, but agreed to thank his Majesty for his pious zeal and care for the honour, peace, advantage, and establishment of the church of *England* ; and then to add, *whereby we doubt not the interest of all the Protestant churches, which is dear to us, will under the influence of your Majesty’s government be the better secured.* The upper house desiring them to give their reason, why instead of the *Protestant religion* they inserted *Protestant churches*, it was deliver’d in these words : “ We being the representative of a form’d establish’d church, do not think fit to mention the word *religion*, any farther than it is the religion of some form’d establish’d church.” Their Lordships returned the amendment with this alteration ; “ We doubt not the interest of the Protestant religion in this and all other Protestant  
I “ churches,

“ churches, &c.” The lower house still jealous, that it would be a diminution of the church of *England* to join it with foreign Protestant churches, would have the words [*this and*] omitted; and at last, with great difficulty, an address was agreed, and presented to the King in the *Banqueting-house* at *Whitehall* on *Thursday* the 12th of *December*; wherein they returned their most humble acknowledgements for his Majesty’s message, and the pious zeal and care, which he was pleased to express therein for the honour, peace, advantage, and establishment of the church of *England*; whereby, they doubted not, the interest of the Protestant religion in all other Protestant churches, which was dear to them, would be the better secured under the influence of his Majesty’s government and protection: And they crav’d leave to assure him, that in pursuance of that trust and confidence, which he repos’d in them, they would consider whatsoever should be offered to them from his Majesty, without prejudice, and with all calmness and impartiality; and that they would constantly pay the fidelity and allegiance, which they had all sworn to him and the Queen, whom they pray’d God to continue long and happily to reign over them. The King well understood, why this address omitted the thanks, which the Bishops had recommended, for his royal commission, and the zeal, which he had shewn for the Protestant religion; and why there was no expression of tenderness to the Dissenters, and but a cool regard to the Protestant churches. However, his Majesty returned this gracious answer, that he “ took this address very kindly from the Convoca-  
 “ tion; and that they might depend upon it, that  
 “ he would do all he had promised, and all he  
 “ could do, for the service of the church of *Eng-*  
 “ *land*; and gave them this new assurance, that he  
 “ would improve all occasions and opportunities  
 “ for its service.”

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The majority of the lower house had a reserved kindness for the nonjuring Bishops and Clergy; and therefore one of the members made a zealous speech in behalf of the Bishops under suspension, that “ something might be done to qualify them to sit “ in Convocation, yet so as that the Convocation “ might not incur any danger thereby.” But this matter being of too delicate a nature, was left to farther consideration, while they labour’d to find out some other business to divert them from that, for which they were called together. And therefore on the 11th of *December* the Prolocutor attended the President and Bishops, and in the name of the lower house represented to their Lordships, “ that “ there were several books of very dangerous consequence to the Christian religion, and the church “ of *England*; particularly, *Notes upon ATHANASIUS’s creed*, and two letters relating to the present Convocation, newly come abroad;” and desired their Lordships advice, “ in what way, and “ how far safely, without incurring the penalty of “ the statute of 25 *Hen. VIII.* the Convocation “ might proceed in the preventing the publishing “ the like scandalous books for the future, and “ inflicting the censures of the church, according to the Canons provided in that behalf, upon “ the authors of them.” Upon which the Prolocutor on the 13th of that month acquainted the house, “ that the President had declared his sense “ of the ill consequence of those books, that were “ sent up from that house to their Lordships; and “ that, upon inquiry, he could not receive any satisfaction, how far the Convocation might proceed in that affair; but that he would, as far as “ lay in him, take further order about it.” The same day the Bishops having propos’d to appoint a committee of both houses to sit during the recess,

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the lower house after some debate resolv'd in the negative; after which the Convocation was prorogued to the 24th of *January* following, then prorogued again, and at last dissolved with the Parliament<sup>1</sup>. For as there was at that time but a small number of Bishops in the upper house, and they had not their Metropolitan with them, nor strength and authority to set things forwards, they advised the King to suffer the session to be discontinued: And thus seeing they were in no disposition to enter upon business, they were kept from doing mischief by prorogations for a course of ten years. This was in reality a favour to them, for ever since the year 1662 the Convocation had indeed continued to sit, but to do no business: so that they were kept at no small charge in town, to do nothing but only to meet and read a *Latin* liturgy; and consequently it was an ease to be freed from such an attendance to no purpose. But the ill reception, which the Clergy gave the King's message, raised a great clamour against them, since all the promises made in King JAMES II's time were now so intirely forgot<sup>1</sup>.

However, there is observ'd by Bishop BURNET<sup>2</sup> a very happy direction of the providence of GOD in this matter. The *Jacobite* Clergy, who were then under

<sup>1</sup> Historical account of the whole proceedings of the Convocation, printed at the end of *Vox Cleri*, London 1690, 4to. and KENNET, p. 594, 595.

<sup>2</sup> BURNET, vol. II. p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. and p. 34. This Remark of the Bishop has been animadverted upon by Mr. TINDAL in his *Continuation of RA-PIN's History*, Vol. I. B. xxv. p. 111. Note, (1). 2d Edit. fol. who observes, that it is strange, that one, who thought a reformation in the Rubric, Canons, and Ecclesiastical Courts was much wanted, should believe the particular interposition of Heaven to prevent it, on account of the ill use, that might be made of it by a few nonjuring Clergy; whereas the reformation intended would have been of infinite advantage to the Church, as it would have removed all the exceptionable parts of her Worship and Discipline, and thereby enlarged the Bounds of Communion.

under suspension, were designing to make a schism in the church, whenever they should be turned out, and their places should be filled up by others. They saw, that it would not be easy to make a separation upon a private and personal account, and therefore wish'd to be furnish'd with more specious pretences. If therefore any alterations had been made in the rubric and other parts of the common-prayer, they would have pretended, that they still stuck to the antient church of *England*, in opposition to those, who were altering it, and setting up new models. But tho' they hop'd and wish'd, that those alterations might be made, which they reckon'd would have been of great advantage for serving their ends; yet they were at the same time the instruments of raising such a clamour against them, as prevented their being made; which, if they had been carried by a majority in the Convocation, would, by the best judgment, that could be afterwards form'd, have on that account done more hurt than good.

Such important points, as were the subject of the commission, and intended for the consideration of the Convocation, occasioned the publication of several pamphlets in favour of, as well as against, the intended comprehension. Among the former was a *Discourse concerning that commission*, proving it to be agreeable to the law of the land, useful to the Convocation, tending to the well-being of the church, and seasonable at this juncture, written by Dr. THOMAS TENISON, and printed at London 1689 in 4to. and *A letter to a friend relating to the present Convocation*, dated November 27, 1689, and sometimes ascrib'd to Dr. TILLOTSON, tho' the real author of it was Dr. HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX<sup>t</sup>. On the other side was publish'd *Vox Cleri: or the sense of the Clergy concerning the making of alterations in the establish'd liturgy*;

<sup>t</sup> See his Life, p. 58.

turgy; with some remarks on the discourse concerning the ecclesiastical commission, and several letters for alterations, London 1690 in 40. This was imputed to Mr. THOMAS LONG, Prebendary of Exeter; and was opposed by *An answer to Vox Cleri, &c. examining the reasons against making any alterations and abatements in order to a comprehension, and shewing the expediency thereof*; said to be written by Dr. WILLIAM PAYNE, and printed at London 1690 in 4to. *Vox Populi; or the sense of the sober laymen of the church of England, concerning heads proposed in his Majesty's commission to the Convocation*; printed in the same year, and in the same form: *Vox Regis & Regni; or a protest against Vox Cleri, and a persuasive (thereby occasioned) to make such alterations, as may give ease to our dissenting brethren*, London 1690 in 40. and two letters, and a vindication of them, concerning alterations in the liturgy, by Mr. BASSET, London 1689 in 4to. The answer to Vox Cleri was replied to in a just censure of it; and Dr. HENRY MAURICE, Chaplain to Archbishop SANCROFT, publish'd *Remarks from the country upon the two letters relating to the Convocation, and alterations*. The letter to a friend concerning some queries about the new commission for making alterations in the liturgy, canons, &c. of the English, publish'd in October 1689, is supposed to be the performance of Dr. JANE himself<sup>u</sup>: And this supposition is the more probable, as the author, after declaring against any alterations, seems to point his reflections directly against Dr. TILLOTSON in these queries: "Whether the known character of some leading men in this commission be not reason enough to suspect the event? Whether men, who conform'd with difficulty themselves, or upon principles, which wise men foresaw would destroy the church in time, who have latitude to conform to a church

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<sup>u</sup> See WOOD. Ath. Oxon. vol. II. col. 1049.



“ *de facto*, which hath power on its side, and to  
 “ conceal their own inclinations till it is time to shew  
 “ them, are not likely to do the church of *England* a  
 “ good turn, when opportunity serves, and which  
 “ perhaps they imagine now they have?” Dr.  
 SOUTH has likewise, in several passages of his works,  
 spoke with his usual severity of the scheme. He  
 begins the *preface* to his *Animadversions upon Dr.*  
 SHERLOCK’s vindication of the holy and ever-blessed  
 Trinity, printed in 1693 in 4to. with remarking,  
 that “ to be impugned from without, and betrayed  
 “ from within, is certainly the worst condition,  
 “ that either church or state can fall into; and the  
 “ best of churches, the church of *England*, has had  
 “ experience of both. It had been to be wished,  
 “ and (one would think) might very reasonably  
 “ have been expected, that when Providence had  
 “ took the work of destroying the church of *Eng-*  
 “ *land* out of the Papists hands, some would have  
 “ been contented with her preferments, without  
 “ either attempting to give up her rites and liturgy,  
 “ or deserting her doctrine. But it has prov’d  
 “ otherwise.” He is still more full and explicit  
 upon this topic in his dedication of the second vo-  
 lume of his sermons to the university of *Oxford*,  
 dated *November 17th 1693*, in which he observes,  
 that the chief design of some of them is to assert the  
 rights and constitutions of our excellently reformed  
 church, “ which of late, *says he*, we so often hear  
 “ reproached (in the modish dialect of the present  
 “ times) by the name of *little things*; and that, in  
 “ order to their being laid aside, not only as *little*,  
 “ but *superfluous*. But for my own part, I can ac-  
 “ count nothing *little* in any church, which has the  
 “ stamp of undoubted authority, and the practice  
 “ of primitive antiquity, as well as the reason and  
 “ decency of the thing itself, to warrant and sup-  
 “ port it. Tho’ if the supposed *littleness* of these

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“ matters should be a sufficient reason for the laying them aside, I fear; our church will be found to have *more little men* to spare than *little things*.” He then declaims against the *innovating spirit*, which had been *striking at the constitutions of our church*, affirming, that “ innovations about religion are certainly the most efficacious, as well as the most plausible way, of compassing a total abolition of it.”

On the other side it was remarkable, that Bishop PATRICK should have so great a share in the design of the comprehension, who in the *General preface*, dated November 1st, 1683, before the sixth edition of his *Friendly debate between a Conformist and a Non-conformist*, had declared himself irreconcilable to such a design. This he took occasion to remark in answer to the censure pass’d upon that book by the Lord-chief-justice HALE<sup>w</sup>, whom he owned to be as eminent for candour as learning and piety. His Lordship had expressed a great dislike of the *Friendly debate*<sup>x</sup>, and Dr. PARKER’s *Ecclesiastical policy*<sup>y</sup>, as *tending to the injury of religion itself; that he wished the authors would openly profess, that they wrote for themselves, and no more abusively pretend it was for religion*. Dr. PATRICK acknowledges in his *General preface*, that “ he was not then, nor is now for that project of *comprehension*, with which every body knows Sir MATTHEW HALE was strongly possessed. The *Debate* came in the way of that, and lay cross to it. But as for his charge of the author’s *writing for himself*, I can demonstrate, that as things then stood, it was impossible (unless we will suppose him to be a fool) he should have any such respect to secular advantages, which he might

<sup>w</sup> See Mr. BAXTER’s second defence of Nonconformity, p. 188. London 1681.

<sup>x</sup> The first and second parts of it were published in 1668; and the third in 1669.

<sup>y</sup> Printed at London 1669 in 8vo.

“ might thereby reap, save only the preserving  
 “ himself by preserving the government, which he  
 “ was bound to do as a member of this church and  
 “ kingdom, which he loves unfeignedly, and whose  
 “ present constitution he will always endeavour  
 “ stedfastly to uphold. For they, whom he op-  
 “ posed, had too much power, he knew very well,  
 “ at that time to obstruct him in such a design ; and  
 “ as they used all their interest to depress him, so  
 “ they had such an influence, I can prove, upon  
 “ some, who are now dead and gone, that by their  
 “ means they did actually keep him down, a long  
 “ time, from rising at all in the world.” This  
 whole preface has indeed strong marks of chagrin ;  
 and the time of writing it is the more remarkable,  
 being soon after the discovery of the *Rye-house* plot,  
 which he styles *a late treasonable conspiracy against his  
 Majesty's sacred person and government*. Nor is it  
 improbable, that his attachment to the court, and  
 connexions with Dr. SAMUEL PARKER, occasion'd  
 in some measure that resentment, which he express'd  
 against the Dean of *Canterbury*, on account of his  
 sermon on *Joshua xxiv. 15.* in his letters to that  
 ambitious and prostitute Divine, cited above from  
 Dr. HICKES. But he afterwards became more mo-  
 derate ; and his zeal and labours to obviate the pro-  
 gress of Popery during the reign of King JAMES II.  
 concurred with his extensive learning and piety, to  
 recommend him to the Bishopric of *Chichester*,  
 whence he was translated to that of *Ely* in 1691,  
 where he died on the 31st of *May* 1707, in his 81st  
 year, being born at *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnshire* on  
 the 8th of *September* 1626. His education had been  
 at the university of *Cambridge*, where he was Fellow  
 of *Queen's-College*, and ordain'd by Dr. JOSEPH  
 HALL, the deprived Bishop of *Norwich*. He was  
 at first Vicar of *Battersea*, and in *September* 1662  
 Rector of *St. Paul's Covent-Garden*, and in *August*

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1679 advanced to the Deanry of *Peterborough*, upon the decease of Dr. DUPORT, whose Greek and Latin poems were in the last age much admir'd, his version of the psalms in the former language being indeed a very good imitation of HOMER's style; but his *Poëtica Stromata*, printed at *Cambridge* in 1676, want a true classical purity, and abound too much in unnatural conceits, and a mere play of words.

Dr. TILLOTSON had been in strict attendance at court in his office of clerk of the closet for ten weeks till towards the beginning of *September* 1689, when he obtained leave to retire for some days to his house at *Edmonton*, whence he wrote on the 10th of that month to Lady RUSSEL, giving her an account of the King's having conferr'd the Bishopric *Chichester* on Dr. PATRICK, and the Deanry of *Peterborough* on Mr. KIDDER. The Rectory of *St. Paul's Covent-garden* also falling to his Majesty's disposal by the promotion of the new Bishop of *Chichester*, Dean TILLOTSON informed her Ladyship, that he believed, that the King would not dispose of that living but to one, whom the Earl of *Bedford*, the patron of it, should approve; and therefore asked her, whether his Lordship and she would be willing, that the Earl of *Nottingham* should mention to his Majesty on that occasion Dr. JOHN MORE. This Divine was, after his advancement to the episcopal dignity, one of the most eminent patrons of learning and learned men in his time; and his name will be carried down to posterity, not only by his sermons published by Dr. SAMUEL CLARKE, his chaplain, but by the curious and magnificent library collected by him, and purchased after his death for 6000 guineas by his late Majesty, who presented it to the university of *Cambridge*. He was born at *Harborough* in *Leicestershire*, and educated at *Clare-hall* in that university, where he took



the degree of Bachelor of arts in 1665, of Master in 1669, and of Doctor of divinity in 1681. He was Fellow of that college, and Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor *Nottingham*, and quitting the Rectory of *Blaby* in *Leicestershire*, was collated to that of *St. Austin* in *London* in *December* 1687, and in *October* 1689 was removed to that of *St. Andrew's Holborn*, which he held till *July* 1691, when he was consecrated Bishop of *Norwich* in the room of Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD, deprived for not taking the oaths, and in *July* 1707 translated to the See of *Ely*, upon the death of Dr. PATRICK. He died on the 31st of *July* 1714, at the age of sixty-eight.

In the same letter the Dean takes notice of his having spoken to the King the *Sunday* before concerning Mr. SAMUEL JOHNSON; and that his Majesty seemed well inclined to what he had moved for that Divine, but *did not positively determine to take that course*. This refers to some request, which Lady RUSSEL had desired the Dean to make to his Majesty in favour of Mr. JOHNSON, for whom she had great zeal, out of regard both to the memory of her husband, whose Chaplain he had been, and to the merit of his writings and sufferings. This remarkable man was born in *Staffordshire*, educated first at *St. Paul's school*,<sup>a</sup> thence removed to *Trinity-college* in *Cambridge*,<sup>b</sup> and on the 1st of *March* 1672, presented by Mr. ROBERT BIDDULPH to the Rectory of *Corringham* in the hundreds of *Essex*,<sup>c</sup> worth 80 *l.* a year; the only church preferment, which he ever enjoyed. But the air of that place not agreeing with his health, he was obliged to put in a Curate to supply the living, and came to *London*, where his knowledge of politics, and the constitution and history of his country, recom-

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<sup>a</sup> Some memorials prefix'd to his works.

<sup>b</sup> KNIGHT'S Life of Dean COLET, p. 411.

<sup>c</sup> NEWCOURT'S Repertorium, vol. II, p. 194.

mended him to the acquaintance of the principal persons engaged in an opposition to the measures and designs of the court, and particularly the Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *RUSSEL*, the latter of whom appointed him his domestic Chaplain. His *Julian the Apostate*, published in 1682, was intended to expose the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, which were carried at that time to an extravagant height by writers even of his own order, and to shew the great difference betwixt the case of the primitive Christians, who had the laws against them, and ours, who have the laws on our side. This provoked the court to such a degree, that he was prosecuted for it as *a very scandalous and seditious libel*, and sentenced in the King's Bench on the 11th of *February* 1682 to pay five hundred marks for a fine to the King; to find sureties for his good behaviour for a year; and to be committed to the prison of the King's Bench till this be paid and done; and that his book be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Being incapable to discharge his fine, he continued in prison in extremely necessitous circumstances; and there drew upon himself a new persecution in the reign of King *JAMES II*, by writing and printing in 1686, *An humble and hearty address to all the English Protestants in the present army*. The sentence, which he received, was a very severe one, to stand in the pillory in *Westminster*, *Charing-cross*, and the *Royal Exchange*; to pay a fine of five hundred marks; and to be whipp'd from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*. Previously to his suffering, he was degraded in the *Chapter-house* of *St. Paul's*, on the 22d of *November*, by *Dr. CREW*, Bishop of *Durham*, *Dr. SPRAT*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Dr. WHITE*, Bishop of *Peterborough*, and several Divines of the city; *Dr. STILLINGFLEET*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, refusing to attend on that occasion. He bore the whipping on the first of *Decem-*  
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ber following with great fortitude. The revolution restored him to his liberty, and the judgment given against him in 1686 was declared illegal and cruel, and his degradation null; and the house of Lords presented two addresses to King WILLIAM recommending him to preferment: And the reason why he never received any, is to be derived from his own temper and conduct. For with very good abilities, considerable learning, and great clearness, strength, and vivacity of sentiment and expression, of which his writings are a sufficient evidence, among which his few sermons are equal in their kind to his other performances; and with a firmness of mind capable of supporting the severest trials for any cause, the truth or importance of which he was convinc'd of; he was passionate, impatient of contradiction, self-opinionated, haughty, and apt to overrate his own services, and undervalue those of others, whose advancement above himself was an insupportable mortification to him. In what manner he treated Bishop BURNET, against whom he had a peculiar spleen, appears from his writings, especially his *Notes on the Phoenix edition of the pastoral letter*. Nor was he much more gentle to Dean TILLOTSON, especially on account of his letter to Lord RUSSEL: But the Dean bore it with his usual temper, and still endeavoured to serve him to the utmost of his power, and in so secret a manner, that Mr. JOHNSON should not discover his obligations to him, it being not uncommon with the latter to return the kindnesses received from persons, whom he disliked, with an air of the utmost contempt, as he did that of the Dean, when he sent him a present of thirty pounds during his confinement in the King's Bench, tho' his necessities forced him to accept of the money. The roughness of his temper, and turbulency of his genius, rendered him also unfit for the higher stations of the church, of which  
he

he was immoderately ambitious ; as well as his freedom in delivering his sentiments with relation to all subjects and persons, without management or decorum ; a liberty, which he often exercised even in the Court itself, where he publicly said, that upon the principle of Kings being accountable only to God, the Rump Parliament had done right to send King CHARLES I. to him. As he could not succeed in his applications for a Bishopric in *England*, and would not submit to any inferior preferment in the church, having refused the rich Deanry of *Durham*, he changed his former solicitations into one for a pension from the King ; in which he was at last gratified, having the grant of 300*l.* pound a year for his own and his son's life, with 1000*l.* in money, and a place of 100*l.* a year for his son. He did not survive his Majesty much above a year, dying about *May 1703.* \*

The King had now fixed upon Dr. TILLOTSON for the successor to the suspended Archbishop, if the latter should incur, as he seemed determined, a sentence of deprivation : And he communicated this intention to the Doctor, when he kiss'd his Majesty's hands for the Deanry of *St. Paul's*. But this fact will be best represented in the Dean's own words in his Letter to Lady RUSSEL, which I shall insert here at length, as well as some others, since a mere abstract would be an injury to the reader, and to as great a master of the epistolary, as of all other kinds of writing. And it is observable, that this letter is an unanswerable confutation of a report propagated to the disadvantage of Bishop BURNET, that he had a view himself to the Archbishopric, and that his disappointment in that respect was the ground of an incurable resentment against a Prince, to whom he had been so much obliged.

*London,*

\* SALMON'S History and Antiquities of *York*.



London, September 19. 1689.

" c Honoured Madam,

" I Received both your letters, and before the  
 " latter came to my hands, I gave your Lady-  
 " ship some kind of answer to the first, as the time  
 " would let me, for the post staid for it. But hav-  
 " ing now a little more leisure, you will, I hope,  
 " give me leave to trouble you with a longer let-  
 " ter.

" I was not at *Hampton-Court* last Sunday, being  
 " almost tired out with ten weeks attendance, so  
 " that I have had no opportunity to try further in  
 " the business I wrote of in my last, but hope to  
 " bring it to some issue the next opportunity I can  
 " get to speak with the King. I am sorry to see in  
 " Mr. JOHNSON so broad a mixture of human  
 " frailty with so considerable virtues. But when I  
 " look into myself, I must think it pretty well,  
 " when any man's infirmities are in any measure  
 " over-balanced by his better qualities. This good  
 " man, I am speaking of, has at some times not  
 " used me over-well; for which I do not only for-  
 " give him, when I consider for whose sake he did  
 " it, but do heartily love him.

" The King, besides his first bounty to Mr.  
 " WALKER<sup>d</sup>, whose modesty is equal to his me-  
 " rit,

<sup>c</sup> From a copy in the possession of the Right Reverend Dr. EDMUND GIBSON, late Lord Bishop of London.

<sup>d</sup> Mr. GEORGE WALKER, justly famous for his defence of *London-Derry* in *Ireland*, was born of *English* parents in the county of *Tyrone*, in that kingdom, and educated in the university of *Glasgow* in *Scotland*. He was afterwards Rector of *Danaghmore*, not many miles from the city of *London-Derry*. Upon the revolution he raised a regiment for the defence of the Protestants, and upon intelligence of King JAMES having a design to besiege *London-Derry*, retired thither, being at last chosen governor of it. After the raising of that siege he came to *England*, where he was most graciously received by their Majesties.  
 and

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“ rit, hath made him Bishop of *London-Derry*, one  
 “ of the best Bishoprics in *Ireland*; that so he may  
 “ receive the reward of that great service in the  
 “ place where he did it. It is incredible how much  
 “ every body is pleased with what the King hath  
 “ done in this matter, and it is no small joy to me  
 “ to see, that God directs him to do so wisely.

“ I will now give your Ladyship a short ac-  
 “ count of his Majesty’s disposal of our *English*  
 “ church preferments, which I think he has done  
 “ as well as could be expected in the midst of the  
 “ powerful importunities of so many great men, in  
 “ whom I discern too much of court-art and con-  
 “ trivance for the preferment of their friends; yea  
 “ even in my good Lord *Nottingham* more than I  
 “ could wish. This is a melancholy consideration  
 “ to one in my station, in which I do not see, how  
 “ it is possible so to manage a man’s self between  
 “ civility and sincerity, between being willing to  
 “ give good words to all, and able to do good to very  
 “ few, as to hold out an honest man, or even the  
 “ reputation of being so, a year to an end.

“ I promised a short account, but I am long  
 “ before I come to it.

“ The Dean of *St. Paul’s*, Bishop of *Worcester*;  
 “ the Dean of *Peterborough*, of *Chichester*. An  
 “ humble servant of your’s, Dean of *St. Paul’s*.  
 “ The Dean of *Norwich* is Dean of *Canterbury*;  
 “ and Dr. STANLEY, Clerk of his Majesty’s closet,  
 “ is Residentiary of *St. Paul’s*; and Dr. FAIRFAX  
 “ Dean of *Norwich*. The Warden of *All-Souls*”

“ in

and on the 19th of *November* 1689, receiv’d the thanks of the  
 house of Commons, having just before published an account of  
 that siege. He was created Doctor of divinity by the university  
 of *Oxford* on the 26th of *February* 1689, in his return to *Ireland*,  
 where he was kill’d the beginning of *July* 1690 at the passage of  
 the *Boyne*, having resolv’d to serve that campaign before he took  
 possession of his Bishopric.

“ Mr. LEOPOLD WILLIAM FINCH, fifth son of HENEAGE  
 Earl

“ in *Oxford* is Prebendary of *Canterbury* ; and Mr.  
 “ NIXON hath the other Prebend there, void by the  
 “ death of Dr. JEFFREYS. These two last merited  
 “ of the King in the West, Mr. FINCH by going in  
 “ early to him, and Mr. NIXON, who is my Lord  
 “ of *Bath*’s chaplain, by carrying messages between  
 “ the King and my Lord of *Bath*, as the King him-  
 “ self told me, with the hazard of his life. *St. An-*  
 “ *drew*’s and *Covent-Garden* are not yet disposed.  
 “ Dr. BIRCH (which I had almost forgot) is Pre-  
 “ bendary of *Westminster* ; and, which grieves me  
 “ much, Monf. ALLIX put by at present. But my  
 “ Lord Privy-Seal<sup>f</sup> would not be denied. The  
 “ whole is as well as could easily be in the present  
 “ circumstances.

“ But now begins my trouble. After I had kiss’d  
 “ the King’s hand for the Deanry of *St. Paul*’s, I  
 “ gave his Majesty my most humble thanks, and  
 “ told him, that now he had set me at ease for the  
 “ remainder of my life. He replied, *No such mat-*  
 “ *ter, I assure you* ; and spoke plainly about a  
 “ great place, which I dread to think of, and  
 “ said, *it was necessary for his service, and he must*  
 “ *charge*

Earl of *Winchelsea* by Lady MARY, second daughter of WIL-  
 LIAM SEYMOUR, Duke of *Somerset*. He was born at *Constanti-*  
*nople*, while his father was Embassador there, educated at  
*Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, and elected Warden of *All-Souls* by  
 mandamus of King JAMES II. on the 21st of *January* 1687,  
 having been elected Fellow of that college from *Christ-church*,  
 where he was educated, and had taken the degree of Bachelor of  
 arts, *Dec.* 17. 1681, as he did that of Master, *December* 1685.  
 How opposite his principles had been to those of the revolution,  
 in which he so early join’d, may be judged of by his dedication  
 to JAMES Earl of *Abington*, of an *English* translation of COR-  
 NELIUS NEPOS, by several hands, printed at *Oxford* in 1683 ;  
 in which having ridiculed the Popish plot by the name of Dr.  
 TITUS’s plot, and rejoiced, that it comes to the Fanatics turn to  
 hang, he complains of the plague of Republican principles, and  
 glories in the gownsmens asserting one of the most sacred essentials  
 of the government, the lineal succession, which could neither by the  
 dispensation of the Pope, or the power of Parliament, be altered.

<sup>f</sup> The Marquis of HALLIFAX.

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“ *charge it upon my conscience.* Just as he had said this,  
 “ he was called to supper, and I had only time to  
 “ say, that when his Majesty was at leisure, I did  
 “ believe I could satisfy him, that it would be most  
 “ for his service, that I should continue in the sta-  
 “ tion, in which he had now placed me. This hath  
 “ brought me into a real difficulty. For on the  
 “ one hand it is hard to decline his Majesty’s com-  
 “ mands, and much harder yet to stand out against  
 “ so much goodness, as his Majesty is pleased to use  
 “ towards me. On the other, I can neither bring  
 “ my inclination nor my judgment to it. This I  
 “ owe to the Bishop of *Salisbury*, one of the worst  
 “ and best friends I know : Best for his singular good  
 “ opinion of me : And the worst for directing the  
 “ King to this method, which I know he did ; as  
 “ if his Lordship and I had concerted the matter  
 “ how to finish this foolish piece of dissimulation, in  
 “ running away from a Bishopric to catch an Arch-  
 “ bishopric. This fine device hath thrown me so  
 “ far into the briars, that, without his Majesty’s  
 “ great goodness, I shall never get off without a  
 “ scratch’d face. And now I will tell your Lady-  
 “ ship the bottom of my heart. I have of a long  
 “ time, I thank God for it, devoted myself to the  
 “ public service, without any regard for myself ;  
 “ and to that end have done the best I could in the  
 “ best manner I was able. Of late God hath been  
 “ pleased by very severe ways, but in great good-  
 “ ness to me, to wean me perfectly from the love of  
 “ this world ; so that worldly greatness is now not  
 “ only undesirable, but distasteful to me. And I  
 “ do verily believe, that I shall be able to do as much  
 “ or more good in my present station, than in a  
 “ higher, and shall not have one jot less interest or  
 “ influence upon any others to any good purpose ;  
 “ for the people naturally love a man, that will  
 “ take great pains and little preferment. But on  
 “ the

“ the other hand, if I could force my inclination to  
“ take this great place, I foresee, that I should sink  
“ under it, and grow melancholy and good for no-  
“ thing, and after a little while die as a fool dies.

“ But this, Madam, is a great deal too much  
“ upon one of the worst and nicest subjects in the  
“ world, a man’s self.

“ As I was finishing this long letter, which if your  
“ goodness will forgive, I hope never to have occa-  
“ sion to try it so far again, I received your letter,  
“ and shall say no more of Dr. MORE, of whose  
“ preaching I always knew your Ladyship’s opini-  
“ on. The person I mention’d was Mr. KIDDER,  
“ on whom the King has bestow’d the Deanry of  
“ *Peterborough*, and therefore cannot have it. I am  
“ fully of your Ladyship’s opinion, that what my  
“ Lord *Bedford* does in this matter, must not ap-  
“ pear to be done by him, for fear of bringing o-  
“ ther importunities upon the King. If my Lord  
“ thinks well of Dr. HORNECK, Dr. MORE would  
“ then certainly have *St. Andrew’s*.

“ I thank God for the health your family enjoys,  
“ as for that of my own ; and equally pray for the  
“ continuance of it, and all other blessings. I would  
“ fain find room to tender my humble service to my  
“ Lord of *Bedford*, my Lord RUSSEL, and two of  
“ the best young ladies I know. I am, HONOURED  
“ MADAM, more than I can exprefs,

“ Your most oblig’d and obedient servant,

JOHN TILLOTSON.”

Lady RUSSEL, in her answer to this letter desir’d  
to know of the Dean the characters of two of the city  
Divines, Mr. SAMUEL FREEMAN, and Mr. JOHN  
WILLIAMS, of the latter of whom she had heard  
him speak in very advantageous terms, since these  
two were now the only persons, who lay before the

Earl

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Earl of Bedford for his consideration ; in order to be recommended to the King for the Living of *Covent Garden* ; his Lordship not being inclin'd to Dr. MORE, and the parish in a high degree averse to Dr. HORNECK. Her Ladyship then proceeds to the Dean's own case. " Now a few words, *says she*, to  
 " your own concern, that bears so heavy upon your  
 " mind, and I have done. I know not, if I should  
 " use the phrase, integrity is my idol ; but I am  
 " sure I admire and love it hugely, wherever I  
 " meet it. I do pity you, Mr. Dean, and think  
 " you have a hard game upon your hands ; which  
 " if it should happen you cannot play off your own  
 " way, you can do better than a man less mortified  
 " to the world could ; because if you serve the in-  
 " terest of religion and the King's, you are doing  
 " what you have dedicated yourself to, and therefore  
 " can be more regardless of ignorant and wicked  
 " censures ; for, upon my word, I believe you will  
 " incur no other. Your character is above it, if  
 " what you fear should come upon you. But as I  
 " conceive there are six months yet to deliberate  
 " upon this matter, you know the old saying, *many*  
 " *things fall out between the cup and the lip*. And  
 " pray do not fill your head with the fears of a trou-  
 " ble, tho' never so great, that is at a distance, and  
 " may never be. For if you think too much on a  
 " matter you dread, it will certainly disturb your  
 " quiet, and that will infallibly injure your health ;  
 " and you cannot but see, Sir, that would be  
 " of a bad consequence. The King is willing to  
 " hear you ; you know your own heart to do good,  
 " and you have lived some time, and have had ex-  
 " perience. You say well, that such a one is the  
 " best and worst friend. I think I should have had  
 " more tenderness to the will and temper of my  
 " friend. And for his justification, one may say,  
 " he prefers good to many, before gratifying one



“ single person ; and a public good ought to carry  
“ a man a great way. But I see your judgment  
“ (if your inclination does not bias too far) is heartily  
“ against him in this matter, that you think you  
“ cannot do so much good then, as now. We must  
“ see, if you can convince him thereof ; and when  
“ he is master of that notion, then let him labour  
“ to make your way out of those briars he has done  
“ his part to bring you into ; tho’ something else  
“ would have done it without him, I believe, if I  
“ am not mistaken in this, no more than I am, that  
“ this letter is much too long.”

The Dean’s reply<sup>s</sup> to this letter was written a few days after.

*Edmonton, Sept. 24, 1689.*

“ HONOURED MADAM,

“ **J**UST now I received your Ladyship’s letter.  
“ Since my last, and not before, I understand  
“ the great averfeness of the parish from Dr. HOR-  
“ NECK ; so that if my Lord of *Bedford* had liked  
“ him, I could not have thought it fit, knowing how  
“ necessary it is to the good effect of a man’s mini-  
“ stry, that he do not lie under any great prejudice  
“ with the people. The two, whom the Bishop  
“ of *Chichester*<sup>t</sup> hath nam’d, are, I think, of the  
“ worthiest of the city ministers, since Mr. KID-  
“ DER declines it, for the reason given by the Bi-  
“ shop ; and, if he did not, could not have it, not  
“ because of any inconsistency in the preferments,  
“ but because the King, having so many obligations  
“ yet to answer, cannot at the same time give two  
“ such preferments to one man. For the two per-  
“ sons mention’d, if comparison must be made be-  
“ tween

<sup>s</sup> From a copy in the possession of the late Bishop of *London*.  
<sup>t</sup> Dr. PATRICK.

“ tween two very good men, I will tell your Ladyship my free thoughts of them.

“ Mr. WILLIAMS is really one of the best men I know, and most unwearied in doing good, and his preaching very weighty and judicious. The other is a truly pious man, and of a winning conversation. He preaches well, and hath much the more plausible delivery, and, I think, a stronger voice. Both of them (which I had almost forgot) have been steady in all changes of times. This is the plain truth; and yet I must not conceal one particular and present advantage on Dr. FREEMAN's side. On *Sunday*-night last the King ask'd me concerning a city-minister, whose name he had forgot; but said, he had a very kind remembrance of him, having had much conversation with him, when his Majesty was very young in *Holland*, and wondered he had never seen him since he came into *England*. I could not imagine, who he should be, till his Majesty told me he was the *English* Ambassador's Chaplain above 20 years ago; meaning Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's. Upon that I knew it was Dr. FREEMAN. The King said, that was his name, and desired me to find him out, and tell him, that he had not forgot him, but remembered with pleasure the acquaintance he had with him many years ago; and had charged me, when there was an opportunity, to put him in mind of him. This I thought both great goodness in the King, and modesty in Dr. FREEMAN, never to shew himself to the King all this while. By this your Ladyship will judge, who is like to be most acceptable to the King, whose satisfaction as well as service I am oblig'd to regard, especially in the disposal of his own preferments, though Mr. WILLIAMS be much more my friend.

“ I men-

“ I mentioned Mr. JOHNSON again, but his Majesty put on other discourse ; and my Lord Privy Seal told me yesterday morning, that the King thought it a little hard to give pensions out of his purse, instead of church preferments ; and tells me Mr. JOHNSON is very sharp upon me : his Lordship called it railing ; but it shall not move me in the least. His Lordship ask’d me, whether it would not be well to move the King to give him a good Bishopric in *Ireland*, there being several void ? I thought it very well, if it would be acceptable. His Lordship said, that was all one ; the offer would stop many mouths as well as his ; which, I think, was well consider’d.

“ I will say no more of myself, but only thank your Ladyship for your good advice, which I have always a great disposition to follow, and a great deal of reason, being assur’d it is sincere as well as wise. The King hath set upon me again with greater earnestness of persuasion, than is fit for one, that may command. I begg’d as earnestly to be considered in this thing, and so we parted upon good terms. I hope something will happen to hinder it. I put it out of my mind as much as I can, and leave it to the good providence of God for the thing to find its own issue. To that I commend you and yours, and am,  
“ MADAM,

“ Yours by all possible obligation,

J. TILLOTSON.

“ If Mr. JOHNSON refuse this offer, and it should be my hard fortune not to be able to get out of this difficulty, which I will, if it be possible to do it without provocation, I know one, that will do more for Mr. JOHNSON than was desired of the King ; but still as from the King, for any thing that he shall know. But I hope some much better way will be found ; and that there will be neither occasion nor opportunity for this.”

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The Dean's recommendation in this letter of Dr. FREEMAN had its full weight in procuring him the Rectory of *Covent-Garden*, to which he was instituted December 28, 1689<sup>k</sup>, being removed thither from that of *St. Anne's Aldersgate*, to which he had been presented in November, 1670, by Dr. HENCHMAN, Bishop of London<sup>l</sup>. He had been also Vicar of his native town of Olney in *Buckinghamshire*, and was preferred to the Deanry of *Peterborough* about August 1691, upon the advancement of Dr. KIDDER to the Bishopric of *Bath and Wells*, and was succeeded in that Deanry at his death, which happened Oct. 14th 1707, at the age of sixty-three, by Dr. WHITE KENNET, afterwards Bishop of *Peterborough*<sup>m</sup>. He was a man of great pleasantry in conversation; but his performances in the pulpit were not equally admired: on which account Dr. GARTH introduced him in the fourth canto of his *Dispensary*, under the epithet of *mysterious*, and described him as *preaching his parish to a lethargy*.

Mr. WILLIAMS, the other Divine, mentioned by the Dean as a friend highly esteemed by him, was a native of *Northamptonshire*, and entered in 1651 a Commoner of *Magdalen-Hall*, in the university of *Oxford*, at the age of about seventeen<sup>n</sup>, and took the degree of Bachelor of arts December 14th 1655<sup>o</sup>, and that of Master June 11th 1658<sup>p</sup>; about which time he entered into holy orders. He was collated to the Rectory of *St. Mildred* in the *Poultry* in the city of *London* in September 1673<sup>q</sup>, and to the Prebend

<sup>k</sup> NEWCOURT Repertorium, vol. I. p. 279.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

<sup>m</sup> WILLIS's Survey.

<sup>n</sup> WOOD. Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 1119, 1120.

<sup>o</sup> Fast. Oxon. vol. II. col. 108.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. col. 122.

<sup>q</sup> NEWCOURT Repertorium, vol. I. p. 503. Mr. WOOD Athen. Oxon. vol. II. col. 1120. says, that he had been before this Minister of *St. Peter's Paul's-Wharf*, and Vicar of *Wrotham* in *Kent*. But we find by NEWCOURT, vol. I. p. 528. that this was another person of the same name, who died not long before the Revolution.



bend of *Rugmere* in the cathedral of *St. Paul's* in September 1683<sup>\*</sup>. After the Revolution, he became Chaplain to King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, and was preferred to a Prebend of *Canterbury*, and in December 1696 advanced to the Bishopric of *Chichester*, in which he died in 1709. He was a considerable writer in the controversies with the Papists and Dissenters, and preached the lectures founded by Mr. BOYLE, his sermons on that occasion being published in 1695 in 4to, under the title of *The characters of divine revelation*.

The grounds of the great averseness in the parish of *Covent-Garden* to Dr. ANTHONY HORNECK are not easy to be assigned at this distance of time. But their dislike to him was the more extraordinary, considering his prodigious popularity on account of his reputation for piety, and his pathetic sermons, his church at the *Savoy* being crowded by auditors from the most remote parts; which occasioned Dean FREEMAN to say, that Dr. HORNECK's parish was much the largest in town, since it reached from *White-Hall* to *White-Chapel*. He was by birth a German, being born at *Baccharach* in the *Lower Palatinate* in 1641, and was educated at *Heidelbergh*, and then at *Leyden*, and at the age of nineteen coming over to *England*, was entered of *Queen's College, Oxford*, December 24, 1663. Two years after he became tutor to the Lord *Torrington*, son to GEORGE Duke of *Albemarle*, who gave him the living of *Doulton* in *Devonshire*, and procured him a Prebend in the church of *Exeter* from Bishop SPARROW. In 1671 he was chosen preacher at the *Savoy*, upon which he resign'd his living in *Devonshire*, being irreconcilable to pluralities and non-residence<sup>\*</sup>. The noble family of the RUSSELS, having a great regard

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for

<sup>\*</sup> NEWCOURT, vol. I. p. 208.

<sup>\*</sup> Life of ANTHONY HORNECK, D. D. by RICHARD LORD Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, p. 3—8. Edit. London, 1698.

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for him, Admiral RUSSEL, afterwards Earl of *Orford*, recommended him to the Queen for preferment; who, by the advice of Dr. TILLOTSON, then Archbishop, promised the next Prebend of *Westminster*, that should fall; and he accordingly was presented to it in 1693 by her Majesty, to whom he was introduced by the Archbishop, being now restored to his Grace's good opinion from the prejudices, which had been raised against him<sup>1</sup>. He and Dr. BEVERIDGE had the chief direction of the religious societies, which began to be formed in the reign of King JAMES II. He died of the stone at his house near *Westminster-Abbey* on the 31st of *January*, 1697<sup>6</sup>, in the 56th year of his age.

Mr. NELSON being at *Paris*, after having attended his Lady to *Aix* in *Provence* for the recovery of her health, the Dean wrote from *Edmonton* a letter to him on the 15th of *October* 1689, in answer to one from that gentleman on the 30th of *July*. In this letter he gives an account of the disposal of the church preferments in the manner mentioned in his letter to Lady RUSSEL of *September* the 19th, with this addition, that Mr. KIDDER and Mr. FREEMAN had by his interest been created Doctors of divinity at *Cambridge*, while the King was there in the beginning of *October*; and that Dr. MORE was presented to the Rectory of *St. Andrew's Holborn*, and Dr. GILBERT IRONSIDE promoted to the See of *Bristol*. The latter, who was the son of a Bishop of *Bristol* of both his names, had been educated in *Wadham-College* in *Oxford*, while Dr. WILKINS, whom he then highly admired for his great abilities, was Warden of it; an office, which he afterwards filled himself, upon the promotion of Dr. BLANDFORD to the Bishopric of *Oxford* in 1665. His dislike of the proceedings of Bishop FELL, Dean of

Christ.

*Christ-Church*, which he thought somewhat arbitrary", prevented him from accepting the office of Vice-Chancellor of the university, till after the death of that Prelate in *July* 1686; but in the years 1687 and 1688 he undertook and discharged it with all the firmness and resolution requisite at a time, when the rights of the University, and the safety of the Protestant religion, were in immediate danger. And it was by his address and management, that upon the earliest notice possible of the death of JAMES the first Duke of *Ormond* at *Kingston-Hall* in *Dorsetshire*, on the 21st of *July* 1688 in the evening, the University proceeded to the election of his grandson, the late Duke of *Ormond*, for their Chancellor, on the 23d in the morning; by which means they anticipated the King's mandate in favour of the Lord-Chancellor *Jeffries*.

In the former part of this year 1689, the Dean and his friend Dr. SHARP, now Dean of *Canterbury*, were involv'd in a business, which took up no small share of their time. It was a trust, in which they were engaged by the will of ROBERT ASKE, Esq; Alderman of *London*, and founder of the magnificent hospital at *Hoxton* near that city, for maintaining twenty poor men of the company of *Haberdashers*, of which he was a member, and twenty boys with a proper education. He dying, and leaving considerable effects, had made them joint executors of his will, and the *Haberdashers* company his heirs; and among other legacies had left each of the executors 200*l.* and 400*l.* to twenty such poor Clergymen, as they should nominate. The executors were so prudent, as to let the agents of the company, whose concern in this matter was the greatest, have the custody of all the ready money and bonds, which were found belonging to the deceased;

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ceased;

<sup>a</sup> WOOD. *Athen. Oxon.* vol. II. col. 1184. See likewise col. 1170.

ceased ; or at least they were put into some common hand trusted by both parties, till the will was completely executed : nor was there any thing transacted relating to this trust from the time, that the will was open'd, till that of the surrendering all their concerns into the hands of the company, but in the presence, and with the advice and consent of the deputies of the company, particularly Sir THOMAS VERNON, and Mr. MOULD ; which latter kept the accounts of all things done in this affair. This caution of theirs proved afterwards of great importance to them, by enabling them to give full satisfaction to some, who had suspected, upon false suggestions made to them, that the executors had disposed of some of the Alderman's effects, before they deliver'd in the schedule to the company. And this suspicion being rais'd at a time, when they were both Metropolitans, would have been something more than a blot upon their private characters, had they not had sufficient evidences to recur to, of their great care and honesty in the management of their trust.

The Dean of *St. Paul's*, among other subjects of his sermons before their Majesties in his course, took one upon a point of a very delicate nature, before the Queen on the 7th of *March* 16<sup>82</sup>. It was upon *Matth. xxv. 46.* concerning the *eternity of Hell torments*, which he soon after printed. This sermon gave occasion to a new clamour against him, as if he had absolutely denied the doctrine itself ; and a groundless and absurd story has been handed down amongst the Nonjuring party, that it was written by way of consolation to the Queen, then under the horrors of despair on account of her behaviour  
to

° Extract of the MS. life of Dr. JOHN SHARP, Archbishop of *York*, by his son Dr. THOMAS SHARP, Archdeacon of *Northumberland*, communicated by him to me in his letter of *November 7, 1751.*



to her father. Dr. HICKES<sup>p</sup> discharges all the venom of his pen against this *wretched sermon*, as he styles it, calling out upon the Convocation to censure it, representing it as a matter of triumph to *Atheists, Deists, and Socinians*; and suggesting, that the reasoning of it was borrowed from a manuscript discourse upon the same subject, still extant, and intitled *Arcanum theologicum*, which Dr. HICKES owns he had never seen, written by an old sceptic of Norwich. By this description he meant Mr. JOHN WHITEFOOT, who, while Rector of *Heigham* in *Norfolk*, preached and published the funeral sermon upon the death of that learned and venerable Prelate, Dr. JOSEPH HALL, Bishop of *Norwich*, on the 8th of *September* 1656, in the 82d year of his age, and was afterwards Rector of *St. Peter's* of *Mancroft* in *Norwich*.

This sermon of the Dean, which has been so elaborately defended by Mons. LE CLERC in his *Bibliothèque choisie* & in 1705, induced Mr. JOHN KETTLEWELL, one of the most pious and moderate of the Nonjurors, who had been formerly Fellow of *Lincoln-college* in *Oxford*, and was Vicar of *Coleshill* in *Warwickshire* till the Revolution, to make some additions to his *Practical believer*, first published in 1688, upon the first and last article of the Creed, the one concerning the proportion between sin and punishment, and the other with relation to the dispensing power in God as to punishments<sup>2</sup>. Dr. WHITBY likewise in the second volume of his *Paraphrase and commentary on the New Testament*, first published in 1700, and reprinted in 1706, inserted an *Appendix* to the first chapter of the second epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Thessalonians*, to shew, that the endless miseries and torments of the wicked are well consistent both with the justice and the goodness of God; in which he endeavours to confute some of the

Dean's

<sup>p</sup> Some discourses, p. 44—47. & *Tom. VII Art. 8* p. 292.

<sup>1</sup> See

<sup>2</sup> Life of Mr. KETTLEWELL, p. 163.

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Dean's arguments on that subject, whom he describes by the epithets of a *great, learned, and excellent* person. And the main reasonings of that sermon were directly attack'd in 1706, in one preached before the university of *Oxford*, and published by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) WILLIAM LUPTON, who after having been Fellow of the same College with Mr. KETTLEWELL, and Curate to Bishop BULL, and Vicar of *Richmond* in *Yorkshire* for one year, resigning that living in the Spring 1706, was called to *London* to one of the most eminent Lectures there, at *St. Dunstan's* in the west, then chosen preacher at *Lincoln's Inn*, and at last collated to a Prebend of *Durham* by Bishop CREW, whom he has highly complimented in a sermon on *Prov. iii. 16.* concerning *the temporal advantages of religion*, preached before his Lordship on the fiftieth anniversary of his consecration, by applying to him the doctrine of his text. In his sermon against the Archbishop's discourse, he describes it as *too well known*<sup>a</sup>, and a plain instance, that *even the greatest men have their intervals of misapprehension and mistake*, and treats his Grace with the severity of expression, and odious suggestions, usual in polemical writings; tho' he owns his *extraordinary personal accomplishments*. This sermon was reprinted with several others of Dr. LUPTON's, after his death at *Tunbridge-Wells*, on the 14th of *December* 1726; and that collection will enable the public to judge, separately from the advantage which his sermons received from the solemnity of his pronunciation and appearance, how far they deserved the encomium given them by Mr. NELSON<sup>b</sup> (who seems upon this occasion to have forgot those of his friend Dr. TILLOTSON) of their being *a fit model for the preachers of the rising generation*. Dr. LUPTON himself was less persuaded of the perfection of his

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<sup>a</sup> Dr. LUPTON's sermons, p. 22.  
p. 491.

<sup>b</sup> Life of Bishop BULL,

own discourses; for I am well informed, that he desired in his last illness, that they might not be published, acknowledging, that he was not that great man, which the world had been so favourable as to mistake him to be. And indeed he had in some measure undeceived the judicious in his life-time by his sermons at Lady MOYER's lecture at *St. Paul's*, which were thought by his friends and superiors so little equal to the subject, and his own character, that he was dissuaded from the publication of them.

The dispute upon this important question was reviv'd by Mr. WHISTON in 1740, in a tract reprinted in 1752, and intitled, *The eternity of Hell-torments inquired into, with a refutation of the common opinion concerning them from scripture and reason*: the main position of which he had laid down in a discourse written about September 1707, and printed in *his sermons and essays* in 1709. Mr. WHISTON's tract was answered by Mr. (now Dr.) WILLIAM DODWELL, Rector of *Sbottesbrook* in *Berkshire*, in two sermons preached before the university of *Oxford* in March 1741, and printed there in 8vo in 1743; in the preface to which he affirms, that the article of the eternity of future punishment "is  
" so fundamental a part of the Christian religion,  
" and so intimately united with its most essential  
" doctrines, and is in itself the strongest inforcement of its practical duties, that it is scarce possible to attack it in a more vital branch, or more  
" to lessen the influence of this great and gracious  
" scheme for the reformation of mankind, than by  
" weakening the sanctions, with which the divine  
" lawgiver has supported it."

EPISCOPIUS, the most justly celebrated writer among the *Arminians*, and whose *Institutiones theologicæ* and other writings, have contributed very much

much to the forming of some of the greatest Divines of our country in the last age, and in particular Archbishop TILLOTSON himself, has in his answer to the sixty-second question *De eternitate pœnarum inferni*<sup>d</sup>, treated that subject in several points in the same manner with his Grace. But whoever is curious to see it thoroughly discussed, may consult the several authors cited by the learned Dr. EDMUND LAW, Archdeacon of *Carlisle*, in his notes upon his translation of Archbishop KING's *Latin discourse concerning the origin of evil*.

Upon the meeting of the new parliament on the 20th of *March* 16 <sup>$\frac{8}{9}$</sup> , their Majesties having appointed a fast, on the 16th of *April* following, to implore the divine favour and blessing on their forces and preparations by sea and land, and for the preservation of the King's person, who was then determined to hazard it in *Ireland* against King JAMES, tho' supported by a body of *French* troops, as well as the whole strength of the Papists in that kingdom, the Dean was desired by the house of Commons to preach before them on that occasion. His sermon was upon *Eccles. ix. 11.* to shew, that *success is not always answerable to the probability of second causes*. And on another fast on the 18th of *June* 1690, he preached before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London* on *Jerem. vi. 8.* pointing out the way to *prevent the ruin of a sinful people*. This sermon he likewise published, with a dedication to Sir THOMAS PILKINGTON, then Lord-Mayor, in which he expressed his wishes, that it might have the good effect intended by him, for the reformation of manners, and reconciliation of the unhappy differences of that time; the latter of which topics he insists on with great force and pathos, complaining, that the odious names and distinctions of parties, which had been laid aside during their common

<sup>d</sup> P. 67. Edit. Amsterdam. 1650, fol.



mon danger, were immediately after their deliverance by the revolution revived with greater heats and animosities, if possible, than before. Nor were these two his only fast-sermons during that year; for he preach'd a third before the Queen at *Whitehall* on the 16th of *September* 1690, upon *Zech. vii. 5. how to keep a truly religious fast*. In this discourse he takes occasion to mention *the late wonderful deliverance under the conduct and valour of one of the best and bravest of Princes*, whom he styles, "the great benefactor not only to these nations, but even to all *Europe*, in asserting and maintaining their liberties against the insolent pride and unjust encroachments of one of the greatest oppressors the world had known for many ages;" to whom he beautifully applies the description of the *Leviathan* in *Job*. He proposes likewise to the whole court the pattern set them by the Queen, "of a decent and unaffected devotion, of a most serious and steady attention, without wandering, without diversion, and without drowsiness: Such an example, *adds he*, as I cannot but hope will in a short time gain upon us all, and by a more gentle and silent reproof win us to the imitation of it."

The See of *Canterbury* becoming vacant by the deprivation of Archbishop *SANCROFT* on the 1st of *February* 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ , the King continued, for several months after, his importunities to the Dean for his acceptance of it; which he still endeavoured to avoid. In this situation he wrote the following letter to Lady *RUSSEL*, which begins with a condolence upon the loss of two of her near relations, her sister the countess of *Montagu*, and her nephew *WRIOTHESLY BAPTIST*, Earl of *Gainborough*, who died on the 21st of *September* that year; the former of whom her Ladyship, in a letter to Bishop *BURNET* of the 16th of *October*, describes as *so amiable a creature*, that she deserv'd to be remembered by all  
those

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*those who knew her; and the latter as a just sincere*  
*man.*

“ *Edmonton, October 9, 1690.*

“ • Honour’d Madam,

“ **S**INCE I had the honour of your letter, I  
“ was tempted to have troubled you with one  
“ of mine upon the sad occasion of your late great  
“ loss of two so near relations, and so near together.  
“ But I considered, why should I pretend to be able  
“ either to instruct or comfort my Lady RUSSEL,  
“ who hath borne things much more grievous with  
“ so exemplary a meekness and submission to the  
“ will of God, and knows, as well as I can tell her,  
“ that there is no remedy in these cases but patience,  
“ nor any comfort but in the hopes of the happy  
“ meeting of our deceased friends in a better life, in  
“ which sorrow and tears shall have no more place  
“ to all eternity?

“ And now I crave leave to impart something  
“ of my own trouble to your Ladyship.

“ On *Sunday* last the King commanded me to  
“ wait upon him the next morning at *Kensington*.  
“ I did so, and met with what I feared. His Ma-  
“ jesty renewed his former gracious offer in so  
“ pressing a manner, and with so much kindness,  
“ that I hardly knew how to resist it. I made the  
“ best acknowledgments I could of his undeserved  
“ grace and favour to me, and begg’d of him to  
“ consider all the consequences of this matter, being  
“ well assured, that all that storm, which was raised  
“ in Convocation the last year by those, who will  
“ be the church of *England*, was upon my account;  
“ and that the Bishop of *L—* was at the bottom  
“ of it, out of a jealousy, that I might be a hin-  
“ drance to him in attaining what he desires, and  
“ what, I call God to witness, I would not have.

“ And

• From a copy in the possession of the late Bishop of *London*.

“ And I told his Majesty, that I was still afraid,  
 “ that his kindness to me would be greatly to his  
 “ prejudice, especially if he carried it so far, as he  
 “ was then pleased to speak. For I plainly saw  
 “ they could not bear it; and that the effects of  
 “ envy and ill-will towards me would terminate  
 “ upon him. To which he replied, that if the  
 “ thing were once done, and they saw no remedy,  
 “ they would give over, and think of making the  
 “ best of it: And therefore he must desire me to  
 “ think seriously of it; with other expressions not  
 “ fit for me to repeat. To all which I answered,  
 “ that in obedience to his Majesty’s commands I  
 “ would consider of it again, though I was afraid  
 “ I had already thought more of it than had done  
 “ me good, and must break through one of the  
 “ greatest resolutions of my life, and sacrifice at  
 “ once all the ease and contentment of it; which yet  
 “ I would force myself to do, were I really con-  
 “ vinced, that I was in any measure capable of do-  
 “ ing his Majesty and the public that service, which  
 “ he was pleased to think I was. He smil’d, and  
 “ said, *You talk of trouble; I believe you will have*  
 “ *much more ease in it, than in the condition, in*  
 “ *which you now are.* Thinking not fit to say  
 “ more, I humbly took leave.

“ And now, Madam, what shall I do? My  
 “ thoughts were never at such a plunge. I know  
 “ not how to bring my mind to it; and, on the  
 “ other hand, though the comparison is very un-  
 “ equal, when I remember how I saw the King  
 “ affected in the case of my Lord of *Shrewsbury*\*, I  
 “ find myself in great strait, and would not for all  
 “ the world give him the like trouble. I pray God  
 “ to direct me to that, which he sees and knows to  
 “ be best, for I know not what to do. I hope I  
 “ shall have your prayers, and would be glad of  
 “ your

\* When that Earl resign’d the post of Secretary of State about 1690, to divert him from which Dean TILLOTSON had been sent to his Lordship by the King. BURNET, vol. II. p. 45.

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“ your advice, if the King would spare me so long.

“ I pray God to preserve you and yours.

“ I am, Honour’d Madam, &c.

“ JO. TILLOTSON.”

To this letter her Ladyship returned an answer a few days after, in these terms :

“ **T**HE time seems to be come, that you must  
“ put anew in practice that submission you  
“ have so powerfully both tried yourself, and instructed others to. I see no place to escape it.  
“ You must take up the cross, and bear it. I faithfully believe it has the figure of a very heavy  
“ one to you, though not from the cares of it. The  
“ King guesses right ; you toil more now. But  
“ this work is of your own choosing ; and the dignity of the other is what you have bent your  
“ mind against, and the strong resolve of your life  
“ has been to avoid. Had this even proceeded to  
“ a vow, it is, I think, like the virgin’s of old, to  
“ be dissolv’d by the father of your country. Again,  
“ though contemplation, and a few friends well  
“ chosen, would be your grateful choice ; yet if  
“ charity, obedience, and necessity call you into  
“ the world, and where enemies encompass round  
“ about, must not you accept it ? And each of  
“ these, in my apprehension, determine you so to  
“ do. In short, it will be a noble sacrifice you will  
“ make ; and I am confident you will find, as a reward, kind and tender supports, if you do take  
“ the burden upon you. There is, as it were, a  
“ commanding providence in the manner of it.  
“ Perhaps I do as sincerely wish your thoughts at  
“ ease as any friend you have. But I think you  
“ may purchase that too dear : and if you should  
“ come to think so too, they would then be as restless as before. Sir, I believe you would be as  
“ much



“ much a common good as you can. Consider,  
“ how few of ability and integrity this age pro-  
“ duces. Pray do not turn this matter too much in  
“ your head. When one has once turn’d it every  
“ way, you know, that more does perplex; and  
“ one never sees the better for it. Be not stiff, if  
“ it be still urg’d to you. Conform to the divine  
“ will, which has set it so strongly into the other’s  
“ mind; and be content to endure. It is God calls  
“ you to it. I believe it was wisely said, that when  
“ there is no remedy, they will give over, and  
“ make the best of it. And so, I hope, no ill will  
“ terminate on the King, and they will lay up their  
“ arrows, when they perceive they will be shot in  
“ vain at him or you, upon whom no reflection,  
“ that I can think of, can be made, that is inge-  
“ nuous; and what is pure malice, you are above  
“ being affected with. I wish, for many rea-  
“ sons, my prayers were more worthy; but such  
“ as they are, I offer them with a sincere zeal  
“ to the throne of grace for you in this strait, that  
“ you may be led out of it, as shall best serve the  
“ great end and designs of God’s glory.”

This letter contributed not a little to determine him at last to acquiesce in the King’s pleasure, if his Majesty should still press him, who now insisted upon a peremptory answer. The result of this affair is mentioned at large in his letter to Lady Russell.<sup>f</sup>

“ *October 25, 1690.*

“ Honoured Madam,

“ **I** AM obliged to your Ladyship beyond all ex-  
“ pression, for taking my case so seriously into  
“ your consideration, and giving me your mature  
“ thoughts

<sup>f</sup> From a copy in short-hand in his Common-place-book.

“ thoughts upon it. Nothing ever came more  
 “ seasonably to me than your letter, which I re-  
 “ ceived on *Wednesday* fennight, the very night  
 “ before I was to have given my final answer to the  
 “ King the next morning. I thank you for it. It  
 “ helped very much to settle and determine my  
 “ wavering mind. I weighed all you wrote, both  
 “ your advice and your arguments, having not  
 “ only an assurance of your true friendship and  
 “ good will for me, but a very great regard and defe-  
 “ rence for your judgment and opinion. I cannot but  
 “ own the weight of that consideration, which you  
 “ are pleased to urge me withal; I mean the visible  
 “ marks of a more than ordinary providence of  
 “ God in this thing; that the King, who likes not  
 “ either to importune, or to be denied, should, af-  
 “ ter so obstinate a declining of the thing on my  
 “ part, still persist to press it upon me with so  
 “ much kindness, and with that earnestness of per-  
 “ suasion, which it does not become me to men-  
 “ tion. I wish I could think the King had a su-  
 “ perior direction in this, as I verily believe he hath  
 “ had in some other things of much greater import-  
 “ ance.

“ The next morning I went to *Kensington* full of  
 “ fear, but yet determined what was fit for me to  
 “ do. I met the King coming out of his closet,  
 “ and asking if his coach was ready. He took me  
 “ aside, and I told him, that, in obedience to his  
 “ Majesty’s command, I had considered of the thing  
 “ as well as I could, and came to give him my an-  
 “ swer. I perceived his Majesty was going out,  
 “ and therefore desired him to appoint me another  
 “ time, which he did on the *Saturday* morning af-  
 “ ter.

“ Then I came again, and he took me into his  
 “ closet, where I told him, that I could not but  
 “ have a deep sense of his Majesty’s great grace and  
 “ favour

“ favour to me, not only to offer me the best thing  
“ he had to give, but to press it so earnestly upon  
“ me. I said, I would not presume to argue the  
“ matter any farther, but I hoped he would give  
“ me leave to be still his humble and earnest peti-  
“ tioner to spare me in that thing. He answered,  
“ he would do so, if he could, but he knew not  
“ what to do, if I refused it. Upon that I told  
“ him, that I tendered my life to him, and did  
“ humbly devote [it] to be disposed of as he  
“ thought fit. He was graciously pleased to say,  
“ it was the best news had come to him this great  
“ while. I did not kneel down to kiss his hand,  
“ for without that I doubt I am too sure of it; but  
“ requested of him, that he would defer the decla-  
“ ration of it, and let it be a secret for some time.  
“ He said he thought it might not be amiss to de-  
“ fer it till the parliament was up. I begg’d far-  
“ ther of him, that he would not make me a  
“ wedge to drive out the present Archbishop: That  
“ some time before I was nominated, his Majesty  
“ would be pleased to declare in council, that since  
“ his lenity had not had any better effect, he would  
“ wait no more, but would dispose of their places.  
“ This I told him I humbly desired, that I might  
“ not be thought to do any thing harsh, or which  
“ might reflect upon me; for now that his Ma-  
“ jesty had thought fit to advance me to this sta-  
“ tion, my reputation was become his interest. He  
“ said, he was sensible of it, and thought it rea-  
“ sonable to do as I desired.

“ I craved leave of him to mention one thing  
“ more, which in justice to my family, especially  
“ to my wife, I ought to do, that I should be  
“ more than undone by the great and necessary  
“ charge of coming into this place, and must  
“ therefore be an humble petitioner to his Majesty,  
“ that if it should please God to take me out of the

“ world, that I must unavoidably leave my wife a  
 “ beggar, he would not suffer her to be so; and  
 “ that he would graciously be pleased to consider,  
 “ that the widow of an Archbishop of *Canterbury*  
 “ (which would now be an odd figure in *England*)  
 “ could not decently be supported by so little, as  
 “ would have contented her very well, if I had died  
 “ a Dean. To this he gave a very gracious answer,  
 “ *I promise you to take care of her.*

“ Just as I had finished the last sentence, another  
 “ very kind letter from your Ladyship was brought  
 “ to me, wherein I find your tender concern for  
 “ me, which I can never sufficiently acknowledge.  
 “ But you say, the Dye is now cast, and I must  
 “ now make the best I can of what I lately thought  
 “ was the worst, that could have happened to me.  
 “ I thank God I am more chearful than I expected,  
 “ and comfort myself as I can with this hope, that  
 “ the providence of God, to which I have submit-  
 “ ted my own will in this matter, will graciously  
 “ assist me to discharge in some measure the duty  
 “ he hath called me to.

“ I did not acquaint my good friend, who wrote  
 “ to you, with all that had passed, because it was  
 “ intended to be a secret, which I am sure is safe in  
 “ your hands. I only told him, that his Majesty  
 “ did not intend as yet to dispose of this place; but  
 “ when he did it, I was afraid it would be hard for  
 “ me to escape.

“ The King, I believe, has only acquainted the  
 “ Queen with it, who, as she came out of the closet  
 “ on *Sunday* last, commanded me to wait upon her  
 “ after dinner, which I did; and after she had dis-  
 “ coursed about another business, (which was to  
 “ desire my opinion of a treatise sent her in ma-  
 “ nuscript out of *Holland*, tending to the reconcili-  
 “ ation of our differences in *England*) she told me,  
 “ that the King had with great joy acquainted her  
 “ with



“ with a secret concerning me, whereof she was no  
“ less glad ; using many gracious expressions, and  
“ confirming his Majesty’s promises concerning my  
“ wife.

“ But I am sensible this is an intolerable letter, e-  
“ specially concerning one’s self.

“ I had almost forgot to mention Mr. VAUGH-  
“ AN’s<sup>s</sup> business. As soon as he brought your  
“ Ladyship’s letter hither to me, I wrote immedi-  
“ ately to *Whitehall*, and got the business stopt.  
“ The Bishop of *St. David’s* had written up for  
“ some minister of a great town, but a small living,  
“ in that diocese, that it might be bestowed on him  
“ for his pains in that great town. The pretence is  
“ fair, but if the Minister is no better a man than  
“ the Bishop, I am sure he is not worthy of it.

“ I have been twice to wait upon my Lord *Not-*  
“ *tingham* about it, but missed of him. When I  
“ have inquired farther into it, if the thing be fit to  
“ be done, I will do my best for Mr. VAUGHAN.  
“ And I beg of your Ladyship to make no diffi-  
“ culty of commanding my poor service upon any  
“ occasion, for I am always truly glad of the op-  
“ portunity.

“ I cannot forbear to repeat my humble thanks  
“ for your great concernment for me in this affair.

“ That God would multiply his best blessings upon  
“ your Ladyship and your children, and make them  
“ great blessings and comforts to you, is the daily  
“ prayer of,

“ MADAM, your most obliged,

“ and most humble servant,

“ J. T.”

The Dean’s remark to his Majesty, that the *wi-*  
*dow of an Archbishop would now be an odd figure in*  
Q3 *England,*

\* Probably a relation of Lady RUSSEL, whose first husband  
was Lord VAUGHAN, eldest son to the Earl of *Carbery*.

*England*, was founded upon this fact, that only two, who had fill'd the See of *Canterbury*, had been married, CRANMER and PARKER. The former was indeed twice married, the first time before he was in orders, while he was only Fellow of *Jesus-college* in *Cambridge*, his wife dying within a year in childbed<sup>h</sup>. He married his second wife in *Germany*, while he was Embassador there in 1530. She was niece to OSIANDER, the famous Protestant Pastor of *Nuremberg*; and was sent for by him into *England* in 1534, two years after he was made Archbishop, where he kept her very privately till 1539; when, upon the *six articles* being put in execution, she was obliged to return to her relations in *Germany*<sup>i</sup>. In the time of King EDWARD VI. when the marriage of the Clergy was allow'd, he again brought her forth, and lived openly with her, and had children by her, who survived him, as she likewise did, being alive towards the latter end of Archbishop PARKER's time, and enjoying for her subsistence an abbey in *Nottinghamshire*, which HENRY VIII. upon the motion of Doctor BUTTS, his physician, without Archbishop CRANMER's knowledge, had granted to him and his heirs<sup>k</sup>. Archbishop PARKER likewise married MARGARET HARLESTONE in *June* 1547, in the 43d year of his age<sup>l</sup>, in the reign of EDWARD VI. but she died before him<sup>m</sup>.

The reflection of the Dean in the same letter, upon Dr. THOMAS WATSON, Bishop of *St. David's*, shews what ill opinion was even at that time entertained of that Prelate, whose enormities, in the article of simony, afterwards grew so public, as to subject him to a deprivation of his See. He had been

<sup>h</sup> STRYPE's memorials of Archbishop CRANMER, B. I. C4.

<sup>i</sup> p. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 11. and 417, 418.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 418.

<sup>l</sup> STRYPE's Life of Archbishop PARKER, p. 23.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. p. 511.

been educated in *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, of which he was Fellow, and tutor there, the memory of his avarice and arts of raising money still continuing in that college. His advancement to the Bishopric of *St. David's* was in the reign of JAMES II. in *April* 1687. He owed it, according to Mr. WOOD<sup>n</sup>, to the recommendation of HENRY JERMYN, created Lord DOVER in *May* 1685; but it was believed, as Bishop BURNET informs us<sup>o</sup>, that he gave money for it; and that historian describes him as one of the worst men in all respects, whom he ever knew in holy orders, passionate, covetous, and false in the blackest instances, without any one virtue or good quality to balance his many bad ones. The obnoxiousness of his character exposed him to many violent insults from the common people, upon the abdication of King JAMES<sup>p</sup>; to whom he professed for some time so much fidelity, as to pretend to scruple the oaths to the new government. During which time, on the 28th of *March* 1689, meeting with Sir JOHN RERESBY, governor of *York*, he asked that gentleman, whether he thought, that he might safely take those oaths, having hitherto stood out, and being now cited to appear before the house of lords. Sir JOHN's answer was, that it was fittest for himself to be advised by his Lordship in such a case; and that certainly his own conscience could not but dictate to him what was right. But Sir JOHN found the Bishop already resolved, who accordingly went the next day, and complied<sup>q</sup>, though he continued still attach'd to his old master King JAMES<sup>r</sup>. He was deprived in 1699 for simony by Archbishop TENISON, whose sentence was afterwards confirm'd by a court of delegates, to whom the deprived Bi-

Q 4

shop

<sup>n</sup> Ath. Oxon. vol. II. col. 1170.

<sup>o</sup> History of his own time, vol. II. p. 226, 227.

<sup>p</sup> WOOD, *ubi supra*.

<sup>q</sup> Memoirs of Sir JOHN RERESBY, Bart. p. 332.

<sup>r</sup> BURNET, p. 227.

shop had appeal'd<sup>2</sup>, as he did the year following to the house of lords, where the affair was protracted, and his Bishopric not disposed of some years<sup>3</sup>, till the end of *April* 1705, when it was given to Dr. GEORGE BULL<sup>4</sup>, whose *Defensio fidei Nicenæ*, publish'd in 1685, had made him famous over *Europe*, and whose *Judicium ecclesiæ catholicæ*, printed in 1694, and written against EPISCOPIUS, in defence of the *Anathema*, as his former book had been of the *Faith* declar'd at the first council of *Nice*, procured him in 1700 the thanks of the general assembly of the Bishops and Clergy of *France*.

The Queen having put into the Dean's hands the manuscript treatise mentioned in his letter to Lady RUSSEL of the 25th of *October* 1690, to have been transmitted to her Majesty from *Holland*, he considered it with the utmost attention, and as soon as his health and engagements would permit, wrote an answer to the letter, which the author of it had sent to him. The author was the learned FREDERICK SPANHEIM, Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, and brother to Baron EZEKIEL SPANHEIM, no less eminent for his profound knowledge in polite learning and antiquities, than for his embassies to several courts, and particularly to that of *England*. The Professor's treatise may be seen in the second volume of his works in the *Leyden* edition in 1701, in *fol.* under the title of *Judicium expetitum super diffidio Anglicano, & capitibus, quæ ad unionem seu comprehensionem faciunt*. The Dean's letter to him upon the subject of it was dated the 6th of *February* 1691; and in it he excuses the delay of his answer on account of the ill state of his health, which obliged him to retire into the country, and, though better, was not yet fully re-established. He observes, that he had read the Professor's discourse upon peace  
and

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 250, 251. and 405.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



and union between the church of *England* and the Protestant dissenters with great satisfaction, on account of the excellent judgment and learning, singular knowledge of the discipline and rites of the ancient church, and, what was superior to all, the truly Christian temper, which appeared thro' the whole. That there were perhaps some few things, and those of no great moment, (except the article of re-ordination) in which it would be a little difficult to find a temperament, by which the contending parties might be brought to an agreement. For that the common people of our church, as well as those of the dissenting congregations, had their superstitions and prejudices, to which it was right and proper to have some regard in the concessions to be made by our church, lest the former being offended, might revolt from ours to that of *Rome*. That it would be tedious to enter into the detail now; but that there would be a much more proper opportunity for discoursing upon it, when a nearer occasion should offer. “ Dr. STILLINGFLEET, adds he, now Bishop of *Worcester*, mentioned by you in your letter, a person, of whom our church deservedly boasts, is still in the same opinion with us. And there are very many others, and those the glories and ornaments of our church, who seem to have strong inclinations to peace and concord. I do not presume to rank myself in their number, being not at all to be compar'd with such great and excellent men; altho' you, Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir, out of your humanity and extreme kindness to me, ascribe too much to my judgment in these controversies. One thing in my opinion is to be deeply regretted, that there are many on both sides, of our church, as well as among the Dissenters, who know not the means nor way of peace. I cannot therefore foresee what will at last be the issue of these pacific counsels. As affairs

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“ now stand in *England*, I think nothing of this  
 “ kind should be attempted for the present ; but  
 “ that we ought to wait till the times grow more  
 “ disposed to peace ; a period, which if our brave  
 “ King shall, through the divine assistance, meet  
 “ with the success wish’d for by all good men, I  
 “ presage is not far distant. For what is to be de-  
 “ spaired of under the auspices of such religious  
 “ and prudent Princes, as our King and Queen ?  
 “ For this reason if you will attend to my opinion,  
 “ you will do right and wisely to suspend the  
 “ publication of your treatise till a more probable  
 “ hope of success shall appear.” The Dean then  
 refers him to the Earl of *Portland*, as a sincere friend  
 and promoter of the scheme of pacification, who  
 would more amply explain these things, and the  
 whole state of affairs in *England* : And concludes  
 with desiring his excuse for the negligence of his  
*Latin* style, which it was not agreeable to him to  
 return to the use of, after a discontinuance of above  
 thirty years, almost his whole life having been spent  
 in preaching, and all other branches of the pastoral  
 duty. But this excuse was unnecessary in a letter,  
 which the learned reader will find written with the  
 utmost purity and elegance <sup>m</sup>.

“ Viro admodum reverendo Domino FREDERICO  
 “ SPANHEMIO, in academiâ Lugd. Batav. S.  
 “ Theol. Professori dignissimo.

“ Q UOD literis tuis, vir clarissime, sanè quam  
 “ humanissimis non citiùs rescripserim, causa  
 “ fuit adversa valetudo ; cui ut mederer, & ani-  
 “ mum recrearem atque reficerem, rus ire necesse  
 “ mihi fuit. Nunc autem, gratia Dei, commodiore  
 “ quidem utor valetudine, at nondum etiam benè  
 “ confirmatâ.

“ Tractatum

<sup>m</sup> From the original draught in his own hand in his Common-  
 place-book.

“ Tractatum de pace & unione dissentientium apud  
“ nos Protestantium cum ecclesiâ Anglicanâ tuum,  
“ quem mecum serenissima Regina communicavit,  
“ avidè perlègi & summâ cum delectatione. In eo  
“ judicium acre idemque subactum, eruditionem  
“ eximiam, in antiquioris ecclesiæ disciplinâ riti-  
“ busque peritiam singularem, &, quod præcipuum  
“ est, mentem & animum vere Christianum, ubi-  
“ queprehendi. Pauca fortasse sunt, & eadem  
“ haud ita magni momenti (articulum de sacris or-  
“ dinibus iterandis excipio) in quibus paulo diffi-  
“ lius erit invenire temperamentum, cujus ope par-  
“ tes inter se litigantes aliquando concordare possint.  
“ Ecclesiæ enim nostræ plebs, non secus ac dissen-  
“ tientium cætuum, suas etiam habet superstitiones  
“ & opiniones præjudicatas; cujus ut ratio habeatur  
“ in rebus ab ecclesiâ nostrâ concedendis jus & æ-  
“ quum est, ne offensa deficiat a nobis ad ecclesiam  
“ Romanam. Longum adeo foret ea nunc singil-  
“ latim persequi; multo commodior erit de his dis-  
“ ferendi locus, cum occasio propior advenerit.

“ STILLINGFLETIUS ille noster, nunc ecclesiæ Vi-  
“ gorniensis episcopus, cujus in tuis ad me literis  
“ mentionem facis, de quo ecclesia nostra merito  
“ gloriatur, is etiam nunc in eadem, quâ nos, sen-  
“ tentiâ perstat. Porrò sunt alii permulti, & hi ec-  
“ clesiæ nostræ decora & ornamenta, in quibus  
“ magna videtur esse animorum inclinatio ad pacem  
“ & concordiam. In horum me numerum referre  
“ mihi non assumo, tantis & tam præclaris viris  
“ neutiquam comparandus; tametsi tu, vir reve-  
“ rende, pro humanitate tuâ & summâ erga me  
“ benevolentiam nimio plus tribuis judicio meo de his  
“ controversiis. Unum magnoperè dolendum cen-  
“ seo, multos esse ex utraque parte, tum ecclesiæ  
“ nostræ, tum dissentientium, qui rationem & viam  
“ pacis non nōrunt. Quem igitur exitum hæc con-  
“ silia pacis tandem habitura sint divinare nequeo.

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“ Ut nunc est in Angliâ, nihil hujusmodi impræ-  
 “ sentiarum tentandum arbitror, sed expectandum  
 “ donec tempora magis pacata fuerint ; quæ si for-  
 “ tissimo Regi, juvante Deo, omnia prosperè & ex  
 “ bonorum omnium sententiâ ceciderint, non pro-  
 “ cul abesse auguror. Quid enim desperandum sub  
 “ auspiciis religiosissimorum & prudentissimorum  
 “ principum ; Regis, dico, nostri, & Reginae ?  
 “ Quapropter, si me audis, vir eximie, rectè sapi-  
 “ enterque feceris, si tractatum tuum in vulgus  
 “ edere distuleris, quoad certior spes secundi suc-  
 “ cessus affulserit.

“ Illustrissimus Comes Portlandius, consilii hujus  
 “ pacifici ex animo fautor & adjutor, hæc omnia  
 “ & universum rerum nostrarum statum fusiùs ex-  
 “ ponet ; cui si studium meum & obsequium con-  
 “ firmare volueris, gratissimum mihi feceris.

“ Condonabis mihi, spero, negligentiam purioris  
 “ Latinitatis, ad quam invitus admodum redeo post  
 “ triginta plus annorum desuetudinem, quoniam in  
 “ concionibus habendis, & in omni pastorali mu-  
 “ nere obeundo, ætatem penè consumsi. Veniam  
 “ igitur pro hac re a candore tuo petit is, quem  
 “ ubique cognosces,

“ Vir clarissime,

“ Reverentiæ tuæ addictissimum

“ atque omni officiorum genere

“ & obsequio devinctissimum,

Febr. 6. 1697.

“ JO. TILLOTSON.

“ Amicum tuum, cui literas ad me dedisti, non  
 “ vidi, ex quo mihi eas reddidit. Hominem  
 “ investigabo, cum ad aulam rediero, ac libens  
 “ juvabo quâ ratione cunque potero.”

A few days after this letter the Dean wrote from  
*Edmonton* another, on the 16th of that month, to  
 Mr. NELSON, then at *Florence*, in answer to two  
 lately received from him. In that letter, after hav-  
 ing



ing mention'd some affair, in which his friendship for that gentleman had engaged him to make use of his interest with the King, he takes notice of the report of the death of the Pope, ALEXANDER VIII, of a *Venetian* family, of the name of OTTOBONI, who had sat in the papal chair almost a year and a half. "If the report be true, *says he*, we are no otherwise concern'd in the loss of him, than of any other foreign Prince, who did little or no good whilst he liv'd. We could spare even the King of *France*, if God thought fit to dispose of him the same way." He observes likewise, that the preparations then making both by sea and land, were the greatest that *England* ever saw, and in the greatest forwardness; and that the Lord PRESTON had laid open all; which, *says he*, will affect a great many. This Lord, who was son of Sir GEORGE GRAHAM of *Netherby* in *Cumberland*, Bart. had been educated at *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, where he was created Master of arts on the 27th of *March* 1667\*. He was created Viscount PRESTON in *Scotland* by King CHARLES II, who sent him in the beginning of the year 1682, Envoy extraordinary to the court of *France*, being attended thither by Mr. WAKE, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as Chaplain to him. While his Lordship resided at *Paris* he procured the suppression of the Abbot PRIMI's *History of the Dutch war*, printed there in 1682, and containing an account of the secret treaty between *France* and *England*, negotiated by HENRIETTA Duchess of *Orleans* with her brother King CHARLES, at *Dover*, in *May* 1669†. Upon his return from thence in the beginning of JAMES II's reign, he was received into a high degree of favour and confidence of that King, by whom he was made Secretary of State upon the removal of the Earl of *Sunderland*,

ON

\* WOOD. Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 157.

† BURNET, Vol. I. p. 301.

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on the 28th of *October* 1688, and design'd to be advanc'd to an *English* Peerage, with the title of Viscount PRESTON in *Amounderness* in *Lancashire*; but his patent was pass'd the Great Seal before the abdication of that King. Being engaged afterwards in a plot with the Earl of *Clarendon*, Dr. TURNER Bishop of *Ely*, and others, in favour of King JAMES; he was seized on the 30th of *December* 1690 going to *France* with Mr. JOHN ASHTON and Mr. ELLIOT; and on the 17th of *January* tried at the *Old Baily*, and condemn'd for high-treason; but after acting a very weak and irresolute part, redeemed his life by his discoveries; while his companion Mr. ASHTON submitted to death with great firmness and decency. His Lordship was a man of excellent parts and learning; and gave the public in 1695, as the fruits of his retirement, a translation of BOETIUS's discourse of *the consolation of philosophy*, illustrated with notes, and a life of the author, who was distinguish'd by being one of the last, who made any figure in literature or genius in *Italy*, then sinking into barbarism through the irruption of the northern nations.

In the same letter the Dean touches upon the seduction of Lady THEOPHILA NELSON and her daughter from the Protestant religion, and prays, that God would *preserve* Mr. NELSON and her son, Sir BERKLEY LUCY, *in the truth*; "and so, adds  
" *be*, I do for those, that are fallen from it, that  
" God would grant them repentance to the ac-  
" knowledgement of it. I pity poor Miss, who is  
" more innocently seduc'd; but my Lady much  
" more, considering the degree of her understand-  
" ing, and the difference of the two religions."

About this time the Dean was solicitous to procure by his interest at court some reward for a Divine of great merit and learning, Mr. JOHN HARTCLIFFE<sup>z</sup>,

B. D.

<sup>z</sup> MS. letter of Lady RUSSEL to Dr. FITZ-WILLIAMS, *Febr.* 1697.

B. D. who had just published in 8vo at *London*, an excellent system of Ethics, under the title of *A treatise of moral and intellectual virtues*; wherein their nature is fully explain'd, and their usefulness prov'd, as being the best rules of life, and the causes of their decay are inquired into; concluding with such arguments, as tend to revive the practice of them. With a preface shewing the vanity and deceitfulness of vice. This author in his preface having premis'd a remark, that the world has ever had its vicissitudes and periods of virtue and wickedness, and that all nations have advanced themselves to their power and grandeur by sobriety, wisdom, and a tender regard to religion; expresses his hopes, that "upon  
" the late wonderful revolution the *English* nation  
" might recover its antient virtues, that had been  
" too long under the oppression of debauchery,  
" which hath been an evil of so great malignity, as  
" to threaten ruin to the very constitution of the  
" government. Therefore, adds he, the Providence of God hath sent us a Prince for our deliverer, whose piety is set off with the whole train  
" of moral virtues; whose temperance is so great  
" and impregnable amidst all those allurements,  
" with which the palaces of Kings are apt to meet  
" even the most resolved minds, that at the same  
" time he doth both teach and upbraid the court."

Mr. HARTCLIFFE, who was born about the year 1650 at *Harding* near *Henley* in *Oxfordshire*, had been educated at *Eaton-School*; and thence remov'd to be a Servitor in *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford* in 1666, and the year following was semi-Commoner of *Edmund-Hall*, where he continued a year, and was then chosen a scholar of *King's College Cambridge*, of which he was afterwards Fellow, and in 1681 Master of Merchant-Taylor's school in *London*. After the revolution King WILLIAM appointed him Provost of *King's-College* by *mandamus*, which had been constantly granted by the crown on that

occasion. But the King, upon the suggestion of the Duke of *Somerset*, Chantellor of the university, soon wav'd his claim, and left the Fellows to the free choice of their Provost; and Mr. HARTCLIFFE was, by the recommendation of his friend Dean TILLOTSON, preferr'd to a Canonry of *Windsor*.

The King's nomination of the Dean to the Archbishopric of *Canterbury* had been agreed between them, to be postponed till after the breaking up of the session of Parliament, which was prorogued on the 5th of *January* 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; when it was thought proper to defer it still longer, on account of his Majesty's voyage to *Holland*, in which he embark'd on the 16th of that month, and arrived there after a very dangerous passage, to attend the Congress at the *Hague* of all the confederate Princes and States for concerting measures, in order to preserve the liberties of *Europe* against *France*. Upon the conclusion of that Congress, the King went to the army near *Brussels*; and after the surrender of *Mons* on the 1st of *April* to LEWIS XIV, who had attended that siege in person, his Majesty came back to *England*, arriving at *Whitehall* on the 13th of that month, but continued there but a short time, returning on the 1st of *May* to the campaign in *Flanders*.

While his Majesty staid in *England*, he was resolved to fill the vacant Sees, from which he had been hitherto diverted by the Dean's advice, who was reproached for it by the King at his return from *Flanders*, and was now oblig'd himself to consent to his Majesty's nomination of him to the Archbishopric in council on the 23d of *April* 1691. Immediately after this public declaration he went to the depriv'd Archbishop still at *Lambeth*; and sent in his name by several servants, and stay'd a long time for an answer, but was forc'd to return without receiving



ceiving any; an incivility, which he had not at all deserved of his predecessor, whose reputation, integrity, and wisdom, when aspers'd by others, he had often vindicated to the King<sup>a</sup>.

The *conge d'eslire* being granted on the 1st of May, he was elected on the 16th, confirm'd on the 28th, and having retired to his house on Saturday the 30th, which he spent in fasting and prayer in the manner represented from his own account in short-hand at the end of his *works*, was consecrated the day following being *Whitsunday* in the church of *St. Mary-le-bow* by Dr. PETER MEW Bishop of *Winchester*, Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD Bishop of *St. Asaph*, Dr. GILBERT BURNET Bishop of *Sarum*, Dr. EDWARD STILLINGFLEET Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. GILBERT IRONSIDE Bishop of *Bristol*, and Dr. JOHN HOUGH Bishop of *Oxford*, in the presence of HENRY Duke of *Norfolk*, THOMAS Marquiss of *Carmarthen* Lord-President of the Council, WILLIAM Earl of *Devonshire*, CHARLES Earl of *Dorset*, CHARLES Earl of *Macclesfield*, THOMAS Earl of *Falconberg*, ROBERT Lord LUCAS, and divers other persons of rank<sup>b</sup>, who attended the solemnity, to express the great esteem and respect, which they had for his Grace, and the satisfaction, which they had in his promotion. The consecration sermon was preach'd on *John* xxi. 17. by Mr. RALPH BARKER, afterwards his Chaplain, whom his Grace had desired to perform that office, with an absolute restriction, that nothing should be said in it with relation to himself; and in the letter, which he wrote to him on that occasion on the 17th of *April*, he expressed a strong sense of the weight of what he had long dreaded, and was now fallen upon him. Mr.

BAR-

<sup>a</sup> Mr. WHARTON's MS. collections.

<sup>b</sup> Gazette, p. 2686. and LE NEVE, p. 228.

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BARKER's sermon was soon after printed in 4to with the following dedication to the Archbishop: "That  
 " your Grace was pleased kindly to accept this my  
 " mean performance at your consecration, was, I  
 " do believe, for the plainness and sincerity of it,  
 " which I always knew to be most acceptable to  
 " you, and what you would choose to counte-  
 " nance in the Clergy, rather than any thing of  
 " panegyric, which perhaps might have been ex-  
 " pected on such an occasion. And therefore I  
 " shall only beg your acceptance of these my first-  
 " fruits, as a hearty acknowledgment of those great  
 " favours, which for many years together you have  
 " vouchsafed to your Grace's most humble and  
 " most faithful servant."

Four days after the Archbishop's consecration, *June*  
*4th*, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and on the *11<sup>th</sup>*  
*of July* had a restitution of the temporalities of his See.  
 The Queen likewise granted him all the profits of it  
 from the *Michaelmas* preceding, which amounted  
 to above 2500*l*. He continued to live at the  
 Deanry of *St. Paul's* till the latter end of the year  
 1691, and in the mean time built a large apartment  
 at *Lambeth* house for his wife, repaired the whole,  
 altered the windows and lights of the Archbishop's  
 lodgings, wainscoted many rooms, and made other  
 improvements there<sup>c</sup>. Which being finished, he  
 removed thither, as appears from a memorandum  
 in his own hand-writing, on the 26th of *November*  
 1691.

As he had now submitted, after a long and un-  
 affected resistance, to the acceptance of this great  
 station, he form'd at the same time two resolutions,  
 from which he never departed. The one was,  
 that whenever the state of their Majesties affairs should  
 be such, that he could hope to be dismissed from that  
 post, he would become a most important suiter to  
 be delivered from it. The other was, that if the  
 infir-

<sup>c</sup> Mr. WHARTON's MS. collections.

infirmities of age should so far overtake him, that he could not go through the fatigue and labour of it, then he would humbly offer it up to their Majesties; and he charg'd some of his most particular friends to use all freedom with him, if they should observe it, before it was perceived by himself<sup>d</sup>.

His promotion was attended with the usual compliments of congratulation, out of respect either to himself or to his station; among which he received a *Latin* letter from the Warden and Fellows of *All-Soul's-College* in *Oxford*, presented to him by Sir THOMAS MILLINGTON, afterwards physician to King WILLIAM, and Dr. ADAMS, on the 5th of *June* 1691. To which he return'd an answer, dated at *Edmonton*, in which he return'd his acknowledgments for their expressions of good-will, though he could not accept of the high compliments, with which they had almost oppress'd him; and promised for himself, that he would always shew himself an encourager and patron of good learning, and upon all occasions a zealous friend to their college<sup>e</sup>.

“ Accepi literas vestras humanissimas, in quibus benevolentiam perspicio & gratus agnosco;  
“ laudes verò immensas, quibus me immeritò cumulatis & penè obruitis, agnoscere non possum.  
“ Hoc vobis de meipso polliceri ausim, me semper fore ingenuæ literaturæ & bonarum artium fautorem & præsidium. Collegii vestri dignitatem & privilegia, quotiescunque occasio obvenerit, pro virili parte defendam & protegam; vestrum omnium patrociniū suscipio, vosque libens semper juvabo qua ratione cunque potero. Valete, viri clarissimi.”

Dabam Edmonton. 1691.

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He

<sup>d</sup> BURNET'S funeral sermon, p. 24.

<sup>e</sup> From the original draught in his MS. volume above-mentioned.

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He returned likewise the following answer to  
Lady COVENTRY <sup>f</sup>.

" June 11, 1691.

" Honoured Madam,

" **T**HE perpetual hurry, in which I have been  
" ever since I received the favour of your  
" Ladyship's very kind letter, would not till now  
" allow me to make an acknowledgment of it, as  
" I ought to have done. But I hope your good-  
" nefs will excuse what I could not help. It is no  
" small comfort to me, Madam, to have the good  
" wishes of so worthy a person, whom I so justly  
" esteem. But after all I cannot but be sensible of  
" the burden I stand under, and which I was so very  
" unwilling should have been laid upon me. And  
" I do still shrink at the thoughts of it. But I hope  
" that God, whose providence hath cast it upon  
" me, will support me under it, who depend only  
" on his grace and help. I heartily pray for your  
" Ladyship's life and health, that you may still  
" continue to do more good, and to increase the  
" reward of well-doing, which is laid up for you  
" in a better world. I am, Madam, with great  
" respect,

" Your Ladyship's most faithful

" and humble servant,

" Jo. CANT."

The Primate of *Ireland*, Dr. MICHAEL BOYLE,  
who died in 1702 at the age of ninety-three, after  
filling the post of Lord-Chancellor of that kingdom,  
as well as the highest station in the church there,  
having likewise sent two letters to our Archbishop,  
he wrote the following answer <sup>g</sup>.

*June*

<sup>f</sup> From his draught in short-hand.

<sup>g</sup> From his own draught in short-hand.



*June 11, 1691.*

“ My Lord,

“ **E**VER since I received your Grace’s very  
“ kind and welcome letter, I have been in so  
“ continual a hurry, that I have not had time to  
“ acknowledge the favour of it, as I ought to have  
“ done. But I hope your Grace will excuse what  
“ I could not well help. I am, my Lord, as I  
“ have great reason, very sensible how unable [I  
“ am] to sustain the weight of that great charge,  
“ which their Majesties have laid upon me, not  
“ only without my desire, but very much against  
“ my inclination. But I hope, that God, who has  
“ called me to this station, and upon whose grace  
“ and help I do humbly depend, will be pleased to  
“ assist and enable me in some measure to a faithful  
“ discharge ; and I hope I shall have the benefit of  
“ your Grace’s prayers to this purpose.

“ As to your former letter dated three days be-  
“ fore, concerning a coadjutor for the Bishopric of  
“ *Down*, I never heard the least syllable of it : And  
“ if any such were design’d, I would oppose it to  
“ my power, as an example of very ill consequence.  
“ I think it much fitter to have the Bishopric made  
“ void, for the Bishop’s scandalous neglect of his  
“ charge.

“ If there be any thing, wherein I may be use-  
“ ful to your Grace, or to the church over which  
“ you preside, I shall always be ready, upon the  
“ least advice or intimation from your Grace, to  
“ do all good offices to both.

“ I commit your Grace to God’s holy protec-  
“ tion and comfort, and ever remain,

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Your Grace’s truly affectionate brother

“ and most faithful servant,

“ *JO. CANT.*”

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“ P. S. Will your Grace give me leave to trouble you with a tender of my humble service to your worthy son, my Lord BLESSINGTON ?”

The Bishop of *Down* mentioned in this letter was Dr. THOMAS HACKET, to whom the Archbishop had been near thirty years before Curate at *Chebbunt*, and who had enjoyed that Bishopric ever since the year 1672, but with so little regard to his pastoral office, that he had spent most of that time in *England*; on which account he was suspended on the 13th of *March* 169 $\frac{3}{4}$ , and on the 21st of the same month depriv'd for simony in conferring ecclesiastical benefices, and other grievous enormities committed in the exercise of his jurisdiction<sup>b</sup>.

The congratulations to the new Archbishop were soon followed by a very opposite treatment from the Nonjuring party, the greatest part of whom, from the moment of his acceptance of the Archbishopric, pursued him with an unrelenting rage, which lasted during his life, and was by no means appeas'd after his death. Before he was consecrated to the See, Mr. DODWELL, who was depriv'd of the *Camdenian* lecture of history at *Oxford* in *November* 1691, wrote to him a letter, dated the 12th of *May*, to dissuade him from being “ the aggressor, as he says<sup>i</sup>, in the new design'd schism, in erecting another altar against the hitherto acknowledged altar of your depriv'd fathers and brethren. If their places be not vacant, the new consecration must, by the nature of the *spiritual* monarchy, be null, and invalid, and schismatical.” This very learned, but equally obscure and prejudic'd writer affirms likewise, that such, as were  
con-

<sup>b</sup> Sir JAMES WARE's works, vol. i. p. 213. Edit. Dublin. fol.

<sup>i</sup> Appendix to the Life of Mr. JOHN KETTLEWELL, p. viii. and life of Mr. HENRY DODWELL, by FRANCIS BROKESBY, B. D. p. 220.

concern'd in this practice, cut themselves off from the communion, of which they were before members; as did all others, who join'd with them; which he endeavours to illustrate by instances in the first ages of the church, and particularly that of ATHANASIUS; alledging that those, who would be Bishops in the room of the depriv'd, must seek for new principles; and that if they should pretend lay-authority as sufficient, they would overthrow the being of a church as a society, and put it in the power of persecuting princes to ruin it.

This letter of Mr. DODWELL was written with much greater mildness and moderation, than another, which was sent to the Archbishop's Lady for him, and a copy of it to the Countess of *Derby* for the Queen, and published in print soon after. It called upon him to reconcile his actings since the revolution with the principles either of natural or revealed religion, or those of his own letter to Lord RUSSEL, which was reprinted upon this occasion. The writer of it is said by Dr. HICKES<sup>k</sup>, to be a person of *great candour* and *integrity*, and once a *great admirer* of the Archbishop; tho' he was afterwards so much prejudic'd against him, that after his Grace's death he declar'd to Dr. HICKES, that the thought him an *atheist*, *as much as a man could be*, tho' the gravest certainly, said he, *that ever was*. Dr. FRANCIS LEE, the compiler of Mr. KETTLEWELL's *life* from the collections of Dr. HICKES and Mr. NELSON, who has reprinted this letter in that book<sup>l</sup>, thinks it to have been written by one of Mr. KETTLEWELL's friends; and the late editor of it, in a collection of pamphlets form'd chiefly from those of Lord SOMMERS, has prefix'd to it the name of CHARLEWOOD LAWTON, Esq; as well as to several other political pieces in that collection. But whoever the writer was, he

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has

<sup>k</sup> Some discourses, p. 40. <sup>l</sup> P. 233. & seqq.

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has intermix'd the severest expostulations with the Archbishop, and suggestions against his sincerity, for his *apostacy*, as he calls it, from what he had formerly preach'd and written, with frequent compliments to his *knowledge, judgment, largeness of spirit, moderation, and many other good qualities*, "that have, *says he*, signaliz'd your name, and  
"once made you one of the greatest ornaments of  
"the Christian church, one of the greatest exemplars of sound morality, and all that philosophers  
"call virtue."

But this and other libels were so far from exasperating his Grace to revenge against the persons concerned in dispersing them, that when some of them were seiz'd on that account, he us'd all his interest with the government to cover them from punishment. This may be seen in the following letter to Lady RUSSEL<sup>m</sup>.

June 23. 1691.

"Honour'd Madam,

"I Received your Ladyship's letter, together  
"with that to Mr. Fox, which I shall return to  
"him on *Wednesday* morning, when I have desired  
"Mr. KEMP to send him to me.

"I entreat you to give my very humble service  
"to my Lord of *Bedford*, and to let his Lordship  
"know how far I have been concern'd in this affair. I had notice first from Mr. Attorney-general and Mr. Solicitor, and then from my  
"Lord , that several persons, upon the  
"account of publishing and dispersing several libels  
"against me, were secured, in order to prosecution. Upon which I went to wait upon them  
"severally, and earnestly desired of them, that no  
"body might be punished upon my account: That  
"this was not the first time I had experience of this  
"kind

<sup>m</sup> From his draught in short-hand.



“ kind of malice, which, how unpleasant soever to  
 “ me, I thought it the wisest way to neglect, and  
 “ the best to forgive it. None of them said any  
 “ thing to me of my Lord RUSSEL, nor did it ever  
 “ come into my thought to hinder any prosecution  
 “ upon his account, whose reputation, I can truly say,  
 “ is much dearer to me than mine own; and I was  
 “ much more troubled at the barbarous usage done  
 “ to his memory: And especially since they have  
 “ aggravated it by dispersing more copies: And, as  
 “ I find, by the letter to Mr. Fox, are supported  
 “ in their insolence by a strong combination, I can-  
 “ not but think it very fit for my Lord *Bedford* to  
 “ bring them to condign punishment.

“ Twice last week I had my pen in my hand to  
 “ have provok’d you to a letter; and that I might  
 “ once in my life have been before-hand with you  
 “ in this way of kindness. I was both times hin-  
 “ dered by the breaking in of company upon me.  
 “ The errand of it would have been to have told  
 “ you, that whether it be from stupidity, or from  
 “ a present astonishment at the danger of my con-  
 “ dition, or from some other cause, I find, that  
 “ I bear the burden I dreaded so much, a good  
 “ deal better than I could have hoped. DAVID’S  
 “ acknowledgment to GOD runs in my mind,  
 “ \* *Who am I, O LORD GOD, or what is my house,*  
 “ *that thou hast brought me hitherto? and hast re-*  
 “ *garded me according to the estate of a man of high*  
 “ *degree, O LORD GOD.* I hope, that the same  
 “ providence of GOD, which hath over-ruled me  
 “ in this thing, will some way or other turn it to  
 “ good.

“ The Queen’s extraordinary favour to me, to a  
 “ degree much beyond my expectation, is no small  
 “ support to me; and I flatter myself with hopes,  
 “ that my friends will continue their kindness to

“ me;

\* 1 Chron. xvii 16, 17.

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“ me; especially that the best friend I ever had,  
“ will not be the less so to me now that I need  
“ friends most.

“ I pray to God continually to preserve you and  
“ yours, and particularly at this time, to give my  
“ Lady CAVENDISH a happy meeting with her  
“ Lord, and to grant them both a long and happy  
“ life together. I am, Madam,

“ Your most faithful and humble servant,

“ JO. CANT.”

Soon after the date of this letter the Archbishop wrote the following answer<sup>n</sup> to two, which he had received from Mr. NELSON; one from *Florence* dated *May 3. 1691*, the other from *Venice* of *May 25. 1691*.

“ SINCE I last wrote to my dear friend, I have  
“ received from him two letters, one from  
“ *Florence*, dated *May 3d*, the other from *Venice*,  
“ *May 25, 1691*.

“ In answer to the first, I sent Sir B. LUCY’s  
“ letter to my Lady BERKLEY, and have seen my  
“ Lord since; but he said nothing to it, nor did I  
“ expect he would, since there was nothing in it,  
“ but what to me seemed fit and reasonable.

“ My son<sup>o</sup> hath no place at court, nor did I  
“ ever mention him to the King, but only to beg  
“ leave of his Majesty for him to attend upon him  
“ into *Holland*, where he met with great civilities  
“ both from my Lord<sup>p</sup> and Lady DURSLEY. I  
“ never

<sup>n</sup> From his draught in short-hand.  
CHADWICKE, Esq;

<sup>o</sup> In-law, JAMES

<sup>p</sup> CHARLES Lord DURSLEY, who was called up to the House of Peers *July 11. 1689*, by the title of Baron *Berkley* of *Berkley*, and the same year sent Envoy-extraordinary to *Holland*.

“ never ask any thing of the King, unless upon the  
 “ account of charity for persons in distress, and  
 “ whom he had reason to consider ; as the poor  
 “ *French* and *Irish* Protestants ; or for some poor  
 “ widows, whose husbands have died in his service,  
 “ and for whom no body else will speak ; or else  
 “ to do some good office for a friend, which costs  
 “ the King nothing ; and this but very rarely.  
 “ And indeed I have no need to ask any thing of  
 “ him, who hath done for me what I was so far  
 “ from desiring, that I did for past a year and a  
 “ half decline it with all my might. And yet have  
 “ I no reason to doubt, but that upon the least in-  
 “ timation of my desire he would willingly give my  
 “ son any place, that is fit for him. But as well as  
 “ I love my son, I can hardly bring myself to ask  
 “ any thing. I had much rather the King would  
 “ prevent me, or, if he do not, I believe the Queen  
 “ will. And I should not be a little pleased to  
 “ have him one of the Commissioners of the Cu-  
 “ stoms, for which he is much fitter than for any  
 “ other place that I know. And I am the more  
 “ desirous to have something done for him, not  
 “ only for the sake of my grandchildren, but be-  
 “ cause he is so very kind to us, and considers so  
 “ well what becomes him and me, that tho’ he is  
 “ still willing to live with me, he will not only  
 “ take no place from me, but has not so much as  
 “ spoken to me for any person whatsoever ; nor  
 “ will he ever intermeddle either in the ordering of  
 “ my family, or in any of my affairs as Arch-  
 “ bishop ; so that the ——

“ You see with what freedom I write to my  
 “ friend, just as if I were talking with him.

“ To your letter of *May* 25th, I know not what  
 “ to say, but that love is blind, and yet thinks it  
 “ sees that in a friend, which the friend cannot  
 “ find in himself. I consider likewise, that this  
 “ comes

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“ comes from one, who hath lived a great while  
“ in a climate, to which civility is natural, and  
“ where it reigns in perfection.

“ I am very sensible, that I come into a difficult  
“ place in a very difficult time; and I shrink at the  
“ thought of the burden I stand under. And yet  
“ if I could but hope to be able to do any considerable  
“ good to this miserably distracted and divided  
“ church and nation, I should esteem it a full  
“ recompence for all the trouble I foresee I must  
“ undergo. And without this, by what I have already  
“ found, I can tell you, that nothing in this  
“ world can make amends for the perpetual hurry  
“ and uneasiness I have been in for this six weeks  
“ last past.

“ I have heretofore had plentiful experience of the  
“ persecution of railing; which is by no means  
“ pleasant, but is very tolerable in comparison of  
“ the persecution of flattery. God and time can  
“ only tell what a man will prove in any condition.  
“ But I hope I cannot so far mistake myself, as not  
“ to be able to assure you, that no change of fortune  
“ can alter my mind towards you. The station,  
“ in which I am now plac'd, is much more  
“ likely to make me weary of my life than of my  
“ friends.

“ Since this calamity befel me, I have not yet  
“ had time to deliver Sir BERKLEY's letter to his  
“ sister; which I intend to do at my first leisure.  
“ I was loth to visit her at Mr. KNOX's; and it is  
“ less fit now. I think to send for her over to Mr.  
“ BEALE's, and there to talk with her.

“ My wife and my son desire to have their very  
“ humble services presented to yourself and my  
“ Lady, to whom, and Sir B. L. I intreat you to  
“ tender mine.

“ I am glad, that we are like to see you sooner  
“ than you thought. I pray God to preserve you  
“ all,



“ all, and bring you safe to your friends ; amongst  
“ whom I hope you will always reckon,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your faithful friend and servant,

“ JO. CANT.”

P. S. “ You may think, Sir, by this letter,  
“ that time lies upon my hands ; but it is you,  
“ that lie so near my heart.”

The Archbishop's friendship for Dr. SHARP, his successor in the Deanry of *Canterbury*, would not let him rest, till he had form'd an expedient for removing the King's displeasure, conceiv'd against that Dean upon this occasion. His Majesty had been pleased to mention Dr. SHARP as a proper person to succeed in some of the Bishoprics, vacated by the deprivation of the Nonjuring Bishops. Two or three were accordingly proposed to him. *Norwich* in particular was press'd by Dr. TILLOTSON, as the place, which he thought would be most acceptable. But Dr. SHARP absolutely declin'd to accept of any of them ; not out of any scruple of conscience, for he could not, under such a scruple, have either made a return to the *Conge d'eslire* for the election of Dr. TILLOTSON to *Canterbury*, which he did, as Dean thereof ; nor could he have suffered himself to have been consecrated by Dr. TILLOTSON, as he was soon after ; but out of a particular friendship and esteem, which he had for the persons deprived. This however displeased the King, and Dr. SHARP seem'd to be no longer thought of. While he was in this situation, Dr. TILLOTSON came to his house on *Friday* the 24th of *April* 1691, the day after his own nomination to the Archbishopric, and told him, that since he had so obstinately refused taking any of the vacant Bishoprics,

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he had thought of a method to bring him off with the King; which was, that he should promise to accept the Archbishopric of *York*, when it fell, as Dr. TENISON should take *Lincoln*. He told him at the same time, how all the vacant Bishoprics were design'd to be dispos'd of; observing, that he had thought of this scheme, as he came from *Whitehall* to his house; and directing him to go and acquaint the Earl of *Nottingham* with it; and, if his Lordship approved of it, he would himself propose it to the King on the *Monday* following. Accordingly on that day he acquainted his Majesty with what had pass'd between Dr. SHARP and himself, and fixed the affair. In consequence of which on the next council-day in the middle of the same week, the King declared there, who should fill the vacant Sees, and who should succeed into *York* and *Lincoln*, when they should fall; and Archbishop LAMPLUGH dying on the 5th of *May*, Dr. SHARP was consecrated to the See of *York* on the 5th of *July* following<sup>a</sup>.

Another of Archbishop TILLOTSON's friends, whom he was desirous to promote, was Dr. THOMAS BURNET, author of the *Theory of the earth*, who had been his pupil at *Clare-hall* in *Cambridge*. He was born at *Croft* in *Yorkshire*, and his first education was at the free school of *North Alverton* in that county, under Mr. THOMAS SMELT, who used to propose him as an example to the rest of his scholars<sup>r</sup>. Thence he was removed to *Cambridge*, where he was admitted a pensioner under the tuition of Mr. TILLOTSON, on the 26th of *June* 1651; but remov'd to *Christ's College* in 1654, upon Dr. CUDWORTH's being made Master of that college, and in 1657 became Fellow of it, and in 1661 senior Proctor

<sup>a</sup> Letter of the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon SHARP, Nov. 7th, 1751.

<sup>r</sup> Life of Mr. JOHN KETTLEWELL, p. 13.

Proctor of the University. He was governor to CHARLES Duke of *Bol'on*, and to JAMES Earl of *Offory*, afterwards Duke of *Ormonde*, and grandson to JAMES, the first Duke of *Ormonde*, and by the interest of that Duke was chosen Master of the *Charter-house* in 1685, though he had been excepted to by those Bishops, who were of the number of electors, on account of his wearing a lay-habit; his Grace being satisfied, that he had the more essential qualifications of manners and conversation in all respects suitable to his clerical character. In this post he opposed the admission of ANDREW POPHAM, a *Roman Catholic*, as a pensioner of the house, tho' enforced by a letter of King JAMES II. dated *Dec.* 20. 1686, dispensing with the statutes of it; and this opposition being vigorously supported by the other governors, except the Lord-chancellor JEFFERYS, that King desisted from pursuing the affair. After the Revolution, Dr. BURNET, whose *Telluris theoria sacra*, printed at *London* in 1681 in 4to, had raised him a great reputation in the learned world, was in a situation to have improv'd his interest for his advancement. Nor could he have fail'd of this, when he was brought to court by the Archbishop, succeeding his Grace as Clerk of the closet to King WILLIAM, whose character he has drawn with great strength and elegance in the dedication of his *Archæologia philosophica*, printed at *London* 1692 in 4to, if the offence taken from his manner of treating the story of the fall, and his imaginary dialogue between *Eve* and the *Serpent*, (which he afterwards desir'd a *Dutch* bookseller in a letter of his, which I have read\*, to suppress in a new edition of that book then printing in *Holland*) had not disabled him from any other preferments, and even oblig'd the King to remove him from his office

\* It was shewn me by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Dr. BEARCROFT, Preacher to the *Charter-House*.

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office at court. He died at the *Charter-House* on the 27th of *September* 1715, at a very advanc'd age. Besides his writings so well known to, and so justly esteem'd by the world for the beauty of imagination, and elegance of expression in both Languages, he was likewise author of three small pieces publish'd without his name, under the title of *Remarks upon an Essay concerning human understanding, in a letter address'd to the author*, London 1697 in 4to. *Second remarks, &c. being a vindication of the first remarks against the answer of Mr. LOCKE at the end of his reply to the Lord Bishop of Worcester*, printed there the same year, and *Third remarks, &c.* in 1699: Which remarks were answered by Mrs. CATHARINE TROTTER, afterwards Mrs. COCKBURN, then but twenty-three years of age, in her *Defence of Mr. LOCKE's essay*, published at London in May 1702.

The successor of the Archbishop in the Deanry of *St. Paul's* was Dr. WILLIAM SHERLOCK, who owed it to his Grace's recommendation and interest, and was install'd in it on the 15th of *June* 1691. This eminent Divine, whose practical writings will make him as much known to posterity, as his controversial did in his own time, was born in *Southwark* about the year 1641, and educated at *Peter-House* in *Cambridge*, where he took the degree of Bachelor of arts in 1660, and Master in 1663, as he did that of Dr. of divinity in 1680. His first preferment in *London* was that of the Rectory of *St. George Botolph-lane*, to which he was collated *August* 3d 1669, as he was to the Prebend of *Pancras* in the church of *St. Paul's* *November* 3d 1681. Three years after he was made Master of the *Temple*. During the Popish controversy in the reign of King JAMES II. he was one of the most considerable writers on the Protestant side. After the revolution he for some time refus'd the oaths to the new government, which shewed great indulgence



indulgence to him on that occasion, by not taking the forfeiture of his preferments. But at last in 1690 his scruples being intirely removed by Bishop OVERAL's acts and Canons of the Convocation begun in the first year of King JAMES I. he took the oaths to their Majesties, and immediately published his reasons in his *Case of the allegiance due to the sovereign powers*, licensed for the press the 17th of *October* that year; which drew upon him the resentments of the whole *Jacobite* party, vented upon all occasions in the most indecent language. Nor was he treated with greater civility by Dr. SOUTH, who had himself submitted to the government, than by Dr. HICKES or Mr. COLLIER. He died at *Hampstead* near *London* on the 19th of *June*, 1707, in the 67th year of his age, having been some years before succeeded in the mastership of the *Temple* by his son, the present Lord Bishop of *London*.

Soon after the Archbishop's promotion, Lady RUSSEL having on the 24th of *July* 1691 written a letter to the Queen in favour of RICHARD VAUGHAN, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the county of *Caermarthen*, a near relation of her first husband, the Lord VAUGHAN, that he might succeed Col. HERBERT, as Auditor of *Wales*, a place worth 400*l.* a year, she requested his Grace to deliver it to her Majesty. This he accordingly did, though he wrote to her Ladyship on the 25th, before he had presented her letter to the Queen, that he apprehended the place to be already dispos'd of; which was likewise the opinion of her Majesty, whose answer to Lady RUSSEL, on the 30th of that month, contains some passages, on account of which I have mentioned this affair, and which cannot be omitted in justice to the sentiments of a Princess more conspicuous for her personal accomplishments of understanding and disposition, than her external dignity. " You are very much in the right, says  
S " her

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“ *ber Majesty*, to believe, I have cause enough to  
 “ think this life not so fine a thing, as, it may be,  
 “ others do, that I lead at present. Besides the  
 “ pain I am almost continually in for the King, it  
 “ is so contrary to my own inclination, that it can  
 “ be neither easy nor pleasant. But I see one is not  
 “ ever to live for one’s self. I have had many  
 “ years of ease and content, and was not so sensible  
 “ of my own happiness, as I ought, till I lost it.  
 “ But I must be content with what it pleases God,  
 “ and this year have great reason to praise him hi-  
 “ therto for the successes in *Ireland*<sup>\*</sup>; the news of  
 “ which came so quick upon one another, that they  
 “ made me fear we had some ill to expect from other  
 “ places. But I trust in God, that will not be,  
 “ tho’ it looks, as if we must hope for little good  
 “ either from *Flanders* or sea. The King continues,  
 “ God be praised, very well; and tho’ I tremble  
 “ at the thoughts of it, yet I cannot but wish a bat-  
 “ tle well over. And for that at sea, I wish it as  
 “ heartily as Mr. RUSSEL<sup>u</sup> himself.”

Mr. NELSON, who was at the *Hague* in *December*  
 of this year 1691, in the house of his brother-in-  
 law, the Lord DURSLEY, Envoy-Extraordinary to the  
 States-General, and was fixed in his resolution not to  
 acknowledge the government of the King and  
 Queen<sup>w</sup>, thought proper now to consult the Arch-  
 bishop with regard to the practice of those Nonju-  
 rors,

<sup>\*</sup> The taking of *Athlone* by General GINKLE *June* 30th, and  
 his victory over St. RUTH and the *Irish* *July* 12th.

<sup>u</sup> Afterwards Earl of *Orford*.

<sup>w</sup> While he resided at *Florence*, he had kept a constant cor-  
 respondence with the Earl of *Melfort*, Ambassador from King  
 JAMES II to the Pope, after the Revolution; his Lordship’s let-  
 ters to Mr. NELSON from *May* to *December* 1690, being still  
 extant in his own Copy-Book of his letters written during his  
 Embassy, of which three volumes in folio, bought at *Paris* in  
 1744, of the Countess of *Melfort*, who married the Earl’s Grand-  
 son, by Mr. BARBUTT, late Secretary of the Post Office, are  
 now in the possession of PHILIP CARTERET WEEB, Esq.

rors, who frequented the churches, and yet profess'd, that they did not join in the prayers for their Majesties. His Grace's answer to Mr. NELSON'S question was dated *December 15th 1691* in these words: "As to the case you put, I wonder men  
" should be divided in opinion about it. I think it  
" plain, that no man can join in prayers, in which  
" there is any petition, which he is verily perswaded  
" is sinful. I cannot endure a trick any where,  
" much less in religion." This is undoubtedly the letter referr'd to in *The life of Mr. KETTLEWELL* \*, whose opinion was exactly the same.

After the Archbishop had been near a year in his See, he found himself confirm'd in the notions, which he had before entertain'd, that the circumstances attending a great post make grandeur not near so eligible, with regard to the possessor's own ease and happiness, as persons at a distance from it are apt to imagine. To this purpose he enter'd his own reflections in short-hand in his Common-place-book, under the title of *Some scattered thoughts of my own upon several subjects and occasions, begun this day March 13, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ , to be transcribed.* His remarks concerning a public and splendid way of living compar'd with a private and retir'd life deserve to be inserted here at length, as they were the result of the real experience of a very able observer of human life in all its situations.

" One would be apt to wonder, that NEHEMIAH  
" (Chap. v. Ver. 16, 17, 18.) should reckon a  
" huge bill of fare, and a vast number of promis-  
" cuous guests amongst his virtues and good deeds,  
" for which he desires God to remember him. But,  
" upon better consideration, besides the bounty,  
" and sometimes charity, of a great table, (pro-  
" vided there be nothing of vanity or ostentation in  
S 2 " it)

\* P. 351. and 357.

“ it) there may be exercised two very considerable  
 “ virtues ; one is *temperance*, and the other *self-*  
 “ *denial*, in a man’s being contented for the sake of  
 “ the public, to deny himself so much, as to sit  
 “ down every day to a feast, and to eat continually  
 “ in a croud, and almost never to be alone, especi-  
 “ ally when, as it often happens, a great part of the  
 “ company, that a man must have, is the company,  
 “ that a man would not have. I doubt it will  
 “ prove but a melancholy business, when a man  
 “ comes to die, to have made a great noise  
 “ and bustle in the world, and to have been known  
 “ far and near ; but all this while to have been hid  
 “ and conceal’d from himself. It is a very odd and  
 “ fantastical sort of life for a man to be continually  
 “ from home, and most of all a stranger at his  
 “ own house.

“ It is surely an uneasy thing to sit always in a  
 “ frame, and to be perpetually upon a man’s guard ;  
 “ not to be able to speak a careless word, or to use  
 “ a negligent posture, without observation and  
 “ censure.

“ Men are apt to think, that they, who are in  
 “ highest places, and have the most power, have  
 “ most liberty to say and do what they please. But  
 “ it is quite otherwise, for they have the least liber-  
 “ ty, because they are most observed. It is not  
 “ mine own observation ; a much wiser man (I  
 “ mean TULLY) says, *In maximâ quâque fortunâ*  
 “ *minimum licere*. They, that are in the highest  
 “ and greatest condition, have of all others the least  
 “ liberty.

“ In a moderate station it is sufficient for a man  
 “ to be indifferently wise. Such a man has the pri-  
 “ vilege to commit little follies and mistakes with-  
 “ out having any great notice taken of them. But  
 “ he, that lives in the light, *i. e.* in the view of all



“ men, his actions are exposed to every body’s observation and censure.

“ We ought to be glad, when those, that are fit for government, and called to it, are willing to take the burden of it upon them ; yea, and to be very thankful to them too, that they will be at the pains, and can have the patience to govern, and to live publicly. Therefore it is happy for the world, that there are some, who are born and bred up to it ; and that custom hath made it easy, or at least tolerable to them. Else who, that is wise, would undertake it ? since it is certainly much easier of the two to obey a just and wise government (I had almost said any government) than to govern justly and wisely. Not that I find fault with those, who apply themselves to public business and affairs. They do well, and we are beholden to them. Some by their education, and being bred up to great things, and to be able to bear and manage great business with more ease than others, are peculiarly fitted to serve God and the public in this way : and they, that do, are worthy of double honour.

“ The advantage, which men have by a more devout, and retired, and contemplative life, is, that they are not distracted about many things ; their minds and affections are set upon one thing ; and the whole stream and force of their affections run one way. All their thoughts and endeavours are united in one great end and design, which makes their life all of a piece, and to be consistent with itself throughout.

“ Nothing but necessity, or the hope of doing more good than a man is capable of doing in a private station (which a modest man will not easily presume concerning himself) can recompense the trouble and uneasiness of a more public and busy life.

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“ Besides that many men, if they understand themselves right, are at the best in a lower and more private condition, and make a much more awkward figure in a higher and more public station; when perhaps, if they had not been advanced, every one would have thought them fit and worthy to have been so.

“ And thus I have considered and compared impartially both these conditions, and upon the whole matter, without any thing either of disparagement or discouragement to the wise and great. And in my poor judgment the more retired and private condition is the better and safer, the more easy and innocent, and consequently the more desirable of the two<sup>r</sup>.

“ Those who are fitted and contented to serve mankind in the management and government of public affairs, are called benefactors, and if they govern [well], deserve to be called so, and to be so accounted, for denying themselves in their own ease, to do good to many.

“ Not that it is perfection to go out of the world, and to be perfectly useless. Our LORD by his own example has taught us, that we can never serve GOD better than when doing good to men; and that a perpetual retirement from the world, and shunning the conversation of men, is not the most religious life; but living amongst them, and doing good to them. The life of our Saviour is a pattern both of the contemplative and active life, and shews us, how to mix devotion and doing good to the greatest advantage. He would neither go out of the world, nor yet immerse himself in the cares and troubles, in the pleasures and plentiful enjoyments; much less in the pomp and splendor of it. He did not place religion (as too  
“ many

<sup>r</sup> A man would be glad to steal some more parts of his life to himself and his own use, before he leave the world.

“ many have done since) in a total retirement  
“ from the world, and shunning the conversation of  
“ men, and taking care to be out of all condition  
“ and capacity of doing good to any body. He  
“ did not run away from the conversation of men,  
“ nor live in a wilderness, nor shut himself up in a  
“ pen. He lived in the world with great freedom,  
“ and with great innocency, hereby teaching us,  
“ that charity to men is a duty no less necessary  
“ than devotion towards God. He the  
“ world without leaving it. We read indeed, that  
“ he was carried into the wilderness to be tempted :  
“ But we no where read, that he chose to live in a  
“ wilderness to avoid temptation.

“ The capacity and opportunity of doing greater  
“ good is the specious pretence, under which am-  
“ bition is wont to cover the eager desire of power  
“ and greatness.

“ If it be said (which is the most spiteful thing,  
“ that can be said) that some ambition is necessary  
“ to vindicate a man from being a fool ; to this I  
“ think it may be fairly answer’d, and without of-  
“ fence, that there may perhaps be as much ambition  
“ in declining greatness, as in courting it : Only  
“ it is of a more unusual kind, and the example  
“ of it less dangerous, because it is not like to be  
“ contagious.”

When his Grace was settled in the Archiepiscopal  
See, he began to form several designs for the advan-  
tage of the church and religion in general. In these  
he was encourag’d by the readiness of their Majesties  
to promote them by their authority<sup>y</sup>, and especially  
of the Queen, who was incessantly employed in pos-  
sessing her mind with the best schemes, that were  
either laid before her by others, or suggested by her  
own thoughts, for correcting every thing, which was

S 4

amiss,

<sup>y</sup> BURNET’s funeral sermon, p. 25, 26.

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amiss, and improving every thing, that wanted finishing<sup>z</sup>. With this view, the Archbishop join'd with her Majesty in engaging Dr. BURNET, Bishop of *Salisbury*, to draw up his excellent *Discourse of the pastoral care*, which was that Prelate's favourite tract<sup>a</sup>, as an attempt to prepare the scene for many noble designs for the perfecting of our ecclesiastical constitution<sup>b</sup>. This discourse was finished before the end of *March* 1692; and the Bishop seems to have had some intention of dedicating it to his friend the Archbishop; who, on the other hand, was zealous for its being publish'd under the Queen's patronage; for which purpose he wrote the following letter to that Prelate<sup>c</sup>:

*Lambeth-House, March 29, 1692.*

" My Lord,

" **A**S backward as I am in writing letters, I received one yesterday so very kind, that I could not forbear to acknowledge it with the first opportunity. I do heartily congratulate with your Lordship the birth of your two daughters, and especially the safety of the good mother, after so long and heavy a burthen, and so sore a brunt. I pray God to multiply his blessings upon you more and more.

" I find your Lordship hath been in travel too; and I doubt not but have brought forth a man-child. I shall be glad to see him. I wonder you can have any dispute where to dedicate it: Not that I should not be proud of it. But no body must come in competition with the good Queen, who  
" so

<sup>z</sup> Id. *Preface to the 3d Edit. of his pastoral care*, p. xxxviii. 4th Edit. London 1736.

<sup>a</sup> Conclusion of the history of his own time, vol. II. p. 637.

<sup>b</sup> *Preface to pastoral care, ubi supra*, and *Ch. IX. p. 223, 224.*

<sup>c</sup> Communicated by the honourable Mr. Justice BURNET.



“ so well deserves all the respect, that can be paid  
“ her by all mankind ; besides that I have the curi-  
“ osity to see the skill of your pen in so tender a  
“ point, as it will be to do her Majesty right with-  
“ out grating upon her modesty.

“ I am glad of the happy success of your pains  
“ in catechising the youth, which could not but be  
“ universally acceptable ; for even bad parents wish  
“ their children good.

“ And now I think it high time to give your  
“ Lordship my most hearty thanks for your kind-  
“ ness to the son of my old friend Mr. DEREHAM,  
“ and am glad the young man hath approved him-  
“ self to you. Your Lordship’s kind thoughts to-  
“ wards the father are yet much greater : but many  
“ things must happen to bring that about ; and if  
“ what is design’d succeed, there will be less need,  
“ and therefore I would have no hopes given him  
“ of it.

“ My wife sends her humble duty to your Lord-  
“ ship, and joins her service with mine to Mrs.  
“ BURNET, and does equally congratulate with me  
“ her safety and happiness. God keep you, and  
“ continue you long for the service of his church. I  
“ am most assuredly

“ Your Lordship’s most affectionate

“ brother and friend,

JO. CANT.”

The Bishop of *Salisbury* immediately sent the manuscript of his *discourse* to his Grace, who return’d him this answer<sup>d</sup>.

*Lambeth-*

<sup>d</sup> Communicated by the honourable Mr. Justice BURNET.

*Lambeth-House, April 12th, 1692.*

“ My Lord,

“ **S**INCE you are pleased to be so positive, I  
 “ will take upon me too ; and will write how  
 “ and by whom I please, and am resolv’d to try,  
 “ whether you can find in your heart to give over  
 “ writing to me. And why, I pray, was not Mr.  
 “ FAIRFAX mention’d among my scribes?

“ I have read over your book with great care,  
 “ and except that I have here and there put in some  
 “ few words, which I saw by the sense were omitted,  
 “ I saw no reason to make any alteration in the  
 “ whole, saving the putting in of one word, and  
 “ the changing of another ; so moderately have I  
 “ used that unlimited power you intrusted me with.  
 “ The work is as perfect in its kind, as I hope to  
 “ see any thing. I cannot but take notice of a remarkable  
 “ prudence in the cast of the whole, that  
 “ you do not grate too hard and too near upon the  
 “ present state of things amongst us, but leave what  
 “ you say in general, to be applied to ourselves, if  
 “ we please ; which is so far from abating the force  
 “ of it, that it will, I believe, render it more effect-  
 “ tual. It will, I hope, do much good at present,  
 “ and much more when you and I are dead and  
 “ gone. I pray God to reward you for it.

“ On *Friday* last I left it with the Queen, to  
 “ whom I read the conclusion, which she will by no  
 “ means allow ; nor any thing more than a bare  
 “ dedication. She says, she knows you can use no  
 “ moderation in speaking of her. So resolute and  
 “ unaffected a modesty I never saw.

“ Her Majesty hath for several days had a  
 “ very bad cold. It would do any one good to see  
 “ with what a grace and chearfulness she plays off so  
 “ great an illness. But I hope the worst is over,  
 “ and that God hath design’d her for a long blessing  
 “ to us.

“ As

“ As for the *office of the fast*, you will not censure  
 “ that matter, when I have told you, that I  
 “ took care to have it printed 5 weeks before; but  
 “ it could not be sent abroad till the first fast-day  
 “ was settled. This her Majesty had appointed on  
 “ the 13th of *April*. But when the proclamation  
 “ was brought to the council, it was objected, that  
 “ the 13th was the first day of the Term. Then  
 “ the 20th was proposed; but that was thought  
 “ not so convenient, because some action abroad  
 “ might happen sooner. Then it was brought  
 “ back to the 8th. I told the Queen, there would  
 “ not be time enough to disperse the office. She  
 “ said, let it go as far as it can for the first fast; it  
 “ will come time enough for the months follow-  
 “ ing.

“ Yesterday morning I obtain'd a meeting here  
 “ of eight Bishops, *York, London, Worcester, Ely,*  
 “ *Glocester, Chichester, Norwich, Lincoln*. I pro-  
 “ posed to them the heads of a circular letter; upon  
 “ which we discoursed very calmly, and without  
 “ the least clashing; and in conclusion they were  
 “ all unanimously agreed to, and two or three heads  
 “ more suggested, which were likewise consented  
 “ to, none more chearfully concurring in every  
 “ thing than my Lord Bishop of *London*. We  
 “ dined together with great kindness. This your  
 “ Lordship will easily believe was no small con-  
 “ tentment to me. But I must not be so vain, as  
 “ not to consider, that I owe all this to the coun-  
 “ tenance and influence of her Majesty. Your  
 “ Lordship may expect a more particular account  
 “ of this affair when it comes to more ripeness. In  
 “ the mean time, and ever, I am, my Lord,

“ Your Lordship's most affectionate

“ brother and servant,

“ JO. CANT.”

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The *pastoral care* being now ready for the press, received the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop himself on the 5th of *May* 1692, and was publish'd the same year.

His Grace's acceptance of the See of *Canterbury*, and his attachment to the cause of the revolution, excluded him, among others, from the offer of pardon in King JAMES II's declaration. This was sent over to *England* about *April* 1692, previous to his intended invasion of this kingdom with a considerable army of *English*, *Scots*, *Irish*, and *French*; and it is said to have been drawn up by Sir JAMES MONTGOMERY, the suppos'd author of a very severe pamphlet against the government, intitled, *Great Britain's just complaint*, printed in 1692, whose zeal for the revolution was, by the disappointment of his ambition in not being gratified with the post of Secretary of State for *Scotland*, soon chang'd into the greatest activity for the restoration of the abdicated King, till his firmness to the Protestant religion expos'd him to such ill treatment at the court of *St. Germain's*, that he was oblig'd to abandon it, and retire to *Paris*, where he died in extreme melancholy and distress. But the threats of that King were render'd ineffectual, and his design entirely defeated by the victory of Admiral RUSSEL over the *French* fleet on the 19th of *May* 1692, and the destruction of it at *La Hogue*. But there not being the same prospect of success in *Flanders*, where LEWIS XIV in person open'd the trenches before *Namur* on the 15th of *May*, which city he took on the 26th of *May*, as he did the castle on the 21st of *June*; the ill situation of affairs made a deep impression on his Grace, who improved every apprehension of public distress into the most serious resolutions for the regulation of his own conduct. Accordingly I find in short-hand in his Common-place-book the following *memoranda* :

“ *June*



“ *June 7th 1692.* That last night at 12 being in great perplexity for the King (now in great danger, if there be an engagement) I lay waking from that time till 5 in the morning, and did solemnly make these following resolutions, which I earnestly beg of almighty God the grace and power to make good, and did likewise resolve to read them over every morning.

“ 1. Not to be angry with any body upon any occasion, because all anger is foolish, and a short fit of madness; betrays us to great indecencies: and whereas it is intended to hurt others, the edge of it turns upon ourselves. We always repent of it, and are at least more angry at ourselves than by being angry at others.

“ 2. Not to be peevish and discontented. This argues littleness and infirmity of mind.

“ 3. Not to trouble the Queen any more with my troubles.

“ 4. Whenever I see any error or infirmity in myself, instead of intending to mend it, to resolve upon it presently and effectually.

“ 5. Not to disturb the Queen on the Lord’s day, or, if I speak with her, to speak only on matters of religion.

“ 6. To use all gentleness towards all men, in meekness instructing those, that oppose themselves.

“ 7. Never to mention any thing said by me to the King or Queen, or by them to me; but to thank God every day for the great blessing of the King and Queen, and for their admirable example.

“ 8. To read this every morning before I go to prayer.

The same month his Grace was consulted by his friend the Archbishop of *York* how to proceed with

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a Dissenter in his diocese, who, claiming the privilege of the act of toleration, had set up an academy, and was complain'd of to him by the Clergy of *Craven* in a formal petition, that this academy might be suppress'd<sup>e</sup>. The person was Mr. RICHARD FRANKLAND, born in 1630 at *Rathmill* in the parish of *Gigleswick* in *Craven* in *Yorkshire*, and educated at *Christ's-College* in *Cambridge*, where he took the degree of Master of arts, and was afterwards a Preacher at *Haughton-le-Spring*, *Lancaster*, and *Bishops-Aukland* in *Durham*<sup>f</sup>; and when the Protector CROMWELL had erected at *Durham* a college for academical learning on the 15th of *May* 1657<sup>g</sup>, Mr. FRANKLAND was fix'd upon as a fit man to be a tutor there. But that college being demolish'd at the restoration; and the act of uniformity, with which he refus'd to comply, tho' solicited with a promise of considerable preferment by Bishop COSINS of *Durham*, excluding him from his Living, he retir'd to *Rathmill*, which was his own estate, where he set up a private academy, and had in the course of a few years three hundred pupils. Thence in 1674 he remov'd to *Natland* near *Kendal* in *Westmoreland*, and thence, on account of the five-mile act, to *Dawsonfold*, and other places, and at last return'd to *Kendal*, where he died on the 1st of *October* 1698, having met with much opposition in the latter part of his life, being cited into the Bishop's court, and excommunicated for non-appearance, but absolv'd by order of King WILLIAM, at the intercession of the Lord WHARTON, Sir THOMAS ROOKBY, and others. He was afterwards sent for by Archbishop SHARP, who treated him with great civility; notwithstanding which, a fresh citation was sent from the ecclesiastical court, but the

<sup>e</sup> Letter of the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon SHARP, of *Nov.* 7. 1751.      <sup>f</sup> Dr. CALAMY's Account, p. 284, 285.

<sup>g</sup> PECK's Memoirs of OLIVER CROMWELL, Collect. Numb. xx. p. 61. & seqq.

proceedings upon it were stopp'd by a prohibition<sup>b</sup>.  
The Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s answer to his brother of *York* was as follows<sup>i</sup>:

*Lambeth-House, June 14, 1692.*

" My Lord,

" **Y**esterday I receiv'd your Grace's letter concerning Mr. FRANKLAND, with the copy  
" of an address to your Grace against him. Yourself are best judge what is fit to be done in the  
" case, because you have the advantage of inquiring into all the circumstances of it. If my advice  
" can signify any thing, it can only be to tell your Grace what I would do in it, as the case appears  
" to me at this distance. I would send for him, and tell him, that I would never do any thing to  
" infringe the act of toleration; but I did not think his case came within it: That there were two  
" things in his case, which would hinder me from granting him a licence, though he were in all  
" things conformable to the church of *England*. First, his setting up a school, where a free-school  
" is already establish'd: And then his instructing of young men in so public a manner in university-learning, which is contrary to his oath to do, if  
" he have taken a degree in either of our universities \*, and I doubt contrary to the Bishop's oath to grant a licence for the doing of it; so that  
" your Grace does not in this matter consider him at all as a Dissenter. This I only offer to your  
" Grace,

<sup>b</sup> Dr. CALAMY's Account, p. 284—288.

<sup>i</sup> Communicated to me by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Dr. THOMAS SHARP, Archdeacon of *Northumberland*.

\* The Question, whether the Oaths taken at either of our universities, upon being admitted to a degree there, restrain the Graduate from instructing of Youth in a private family in Logic and Philosophy, is discuss'd in two papers, one written by Mr. SAMUEL CRADOCK, B. D. printed in Dr. CALAMY's *Continuation*, vol. IV. p. 731. and the other drawn up by Mr. CHARLES MORTON, M. A. Vol. III. p. 177—107.

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“ Grace; as what seems to me the fairest and softest  
“ way of ridding your hands of this business.

“ With my humble service to Mrs. SHARP, and  
“ my hearty prayers for your health and a long  
“ life to do God and his church much service, I  
“ remain, My Lord,

“ Your Grace’s very affectionate

“ brother and servant,

“ JO. CANT.”

The next month his Grace was named by the Queen herself to stand Godfather with her Majesty and the Earl of *Bath* to the new-born son of CHARLES Marquis of *Winchester*, afterwards Duke of *Bolton*, by his Lady, FRANCES, daughter of WILLIAM RAMSDEN of *Byrom* in the county of *York*, Esq;. This honour done the Archbishop by her Majesty was so sensibly felt by him, that he could not suppress the mention of it, tho’ in a style of the greatest modesty and delicacy, to Lady RUSSEL, in a letter, which he wrote to her upon a business of her own<sup>k</sup>.

*Aug. 1, 1692.*

“ Honour’d Madam,

“ ON *Sunday* morning I gave yours to the  
“ Queen, telling her, that I was afraid it  
“ came too late. She said, *perhaps not*. Yesterday  
“ meeting the Queen at a Christening, she gave me  
“ the inclosed to send to your Ladyship. And if I  
“ could but obtain of your severe judgment to wink  
“ a little at my vanity, I would tell you how this  
“ happened. My Lady Marchioness of *Winchester*  
“ being lately delivered of a son, spake to the Queen  
“ to stand Godmother: And the Queen asking,  
“ whom she had thought of for Godfathers, she said  
“ only the Earl of *Bath*, and whom else her Ma-  
“ jesty

<sup>k</sup> From a copy in the possession of the late Bishop of *London*.



“ jesty would please to name. They agreed upon  
 “ me, which was a great surprize to me; but I  
 “ doubt not a gracious contrivance of her Majesty  
 “ to let the world know, that I have her counte-  
 “ nance and support. If it please God to preserve  
 “ my good master, and to grant him success, I  
 “ have nothing more to wish in this world, but that  
 “ God would grant children to this excellent Prince;  
 “ and that I, who am said not to have been bap-  
 “ tized myself, may have the honour to baptize a  
 “ Prince of *Wales*. With God, to whose wisdom  
 “ and goodness we must submit every thing, this  
 “ is not impossible. To his protection and blessing  
 “ I commend your Ladyship and your hopeful  
 “ children.

“ Reading over what I have written puts me in  
 “ mind of one, who, when he was in his drink, al-  
 “ ways went and shewed himself to his best friends.  
 “ But your Ladyship knows how to forgive a little  
 “ folly to one so entirely devoted to your service,  
 “ as is, Honour’d Madam,

“ Your most obliged and humble servant,

“ JO. CANT.”

In the latter end of this year 1692, the *History of the Inquisition*, written in *Latin* by PHILIP LIMBORCH, Professor of divinity among the *Arminians* at *Amsterdam*, was publish’d there in folio with a dedication to the Archbishop. This work was undertaken by the author upon meeting with the original manuscript of the *Sentences* pronounc’d by the Inquisition at *Tboulouse* in *France*, from the year 1307 to 1323; and it is an excellent performance, and contains an account of the rise, progress, and proceedings of that formidable court, supported by indisputable authorities. When he had finished it, he wrote in *June* 1692 to Mr. LOCKE, who was a com-

mon friend to the Archbishop and himself, to request his Grace's leave for giving it the world under the sanction of his patronage. Mr. LOCKE wrote to Mr. LIMBORCH on the 30th of that month<sup>1</sup>, that he had that day waited upon the Archbishop, who immediately recollected Mr. LIMBORCH's name, and that he had received from him a present of that Divine's book, intitled, *De veritate religionis Christianæ amica collatio cum erudito Judæo*, printed in 1687, excusing himself for not having return'd him a letter of thanks for it, because his ill health, the weakness of his eyes, and other intervening engagements of business, had hitherto prevented him from reading the whole: But he highly commended the work and its author. He thought, that the *History of the Inquisition* would be very seasonable at that time; and read over the contents of the chapters with great pleasure and approbation; and when Mr. LOCKE mentioned to him the affair of the dedication, he answered with so much civility of words and countenance, as shew'd, that it was not displeasing to him. Mr. LOCKE therefore advised Mr. LIMBORCH to send it over, concurring with him in opinion, that the Archbishop should read it before it was sent to the press; and promising to shew it to his Grace, and to mark any thing in it, that ought to be alter'd. His Grace observ'd, that he had a book printed in *Portugal* in 8vo, concerning an *auto de fe* there, to which were prefix'd several papal bulls and other instruments, granting and establishing the authority of the holy office; which book he had not yet found, tho' he had look'd for it, his library not being yet in order; but directed it to be search'd out against Mr. LOCKE's next visit, to be sent to Mr. LIMBORCH. Mr. LOCKE, in his next letter of the 28th of *November* 1692<sup>m</sup>, informs

Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Familiar letters between Mr. LOCKE and several of his friends, p. 339. *Edit.* London 1708, in 8vo.

<sup>m</sup> Familiar letters, &c. p. 341.

Mr. LIMBORCH of his having come immediately to *London* upon the arrival of the printed copies of his book, and waited upon the Archbishop, who declar'd his obligations to Mr. LIMBORCH for it, and his great satisfaction in reading it, as he had already done the greatest part of it, notwithstanding his avocations of most important business; and that he design'd to write to Mr. LIMBORCH a letter of thanks upon that occasion. Mr. LOCKE in another letter of the 10th of *January* 169<sup>2</sup>/<sub>7</sub><sup>n</sup>, acquaints Mr. LIMBORCH, that upon his coming to town three days before, the Archbishop had sent for him, and having premised many things in commendation of Professor LIMBORCH and his history, said, that he had now at last wrote to him, having been hitherto prevented by a multitude of business; desiring Mr. LOCKE to direct and transmit his letter, together with a volume of his sermons lately published.

Mr. LIMBORCH's dedication to his Grace is form'd upon topics, that do the highest honour to a Protestant Prelate, and are applied to him with great force and propriety. He begins it with remarking, that upon a thorough consideration of the subject of the book itself, and of the eminent rank held by the Archbishop with the unanimous applause of all good men, and to the common advantage of all the reformed churches, in a crisis of the utmost difficulty, the inscription of such a work was due to his Grace above all men living. That on the one hand, all persons, who wish'd the maintenance of the Gospel purity and liberty, had the highest veneration for his Grace, who was plac'd at the head of the church of *England*, the most eminent among the reformed, and who was on that account in some measure the defender of the reformed churches in general; his endeavours being faithfully

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employed in the promoting the Christian doctrine and faith, by means directly opposite to those of the papal tyranny, and in engaging men in the way of salvation. For not to insist upon his eloquence in the pulpit, of which he was so great a master, genuine, free from the disguise of false ornaments, and agreeable to the divine oracles, his strength and acuteness of judgment in controversy, his learning adapted to use, and not to ostentation, and his other excellent qualifications, which had long before fix'd the attention and hopes of all good men upon him, and now adorn'd the high office, which he fill'd; his Grace's mildness of temper, so peculiarly becoming a pastor of the church, and so much wanted in that age, promised the greatest advantage to the reformation, which still labour'd under difficulties, and had been lately almost oppress'd. For so distinguish'd was his Grace for integrity of life, simplicity of manners, candour, universal charity and benevolence, and prudence founded on experience, that divine Providence seem'd to have chosen him, in order that, under his influence and conduct, the whole body of the reformed churches, laying aside their intestine disputes, might unite and support the liberty of the Gospel and the Christian religion against the machinations and shocking cruelty of the church of *Rome*. That his Grace, who was an example to all men of a true evangelical charity, oppos'd the tyranny of the See of *Rome*, by the same arts, sanctity of life, and benignity of heart, with which Christianity antiently subdued and destroyed Pagan idolatry, impiety, and tyranny, and by which it will always triumph over its enemies. These were the reasons, which prevented Mr. LIMBORCH from offering his work to any other patron, than his Grace, who, he was persuaded, would concur with him in opinion, that the publication of it would be extremely seasonable in the present situation of things,

when



when Popery, especially in *England*, was endeavouring to advance itself, and gain the sole dominion ; since the readers of that book would see in it, as in a glass, the lively and genuine representation of it, and by that means not suffer themselves to be deluded with a fallacious one ; and consequently view it in its proper light, of a confederacy of cruel and sanguinary men, affecting, and, where they can, usurping an authority over the consciences of others, and erecting a kingdom in direct opposition to that of Christ. He hoped therefore, that all Protestants would, under the auspices of his Grace, as their common spiritual father, be inspired with a just horror of the papal dominion, and obviate its progress by the sincerity of their faith, a charity truly Christian, and a thorough purity of manners : And that, for the sake of preserving the reformation, they would learn to detest all cruelty against, and punishments of those, who dissented or were in error, if they were otherwise persons of piety ; since it is certain, that all mankind will give an account of their faith before the tribunal of Christ, their supreme legislator and judge ; and that no man has a right to make laws for conscience, and prescribe rules of belief, which would be in reality assuming the seat of Christ. Upon these principles the church would at last flourish under his Grace ; and enmity, hatred, and schisms, by which it had been hitherto miserably divided, be entirely abolished. And if God, in punishment for our sins, should not yet restore the golden age of the primitive church, when all the believers had *one heart* and *one mind*, men would at least learn not to domineer over the consciences of their brethren, nor to punish any person for a simple and innocent error of judgment, much less to inflict death upon him for the ingenuous profession of his faith, of which he is ready to give an account to God ; but to expose errors by

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reason, and the clear testimony of scripture, and in the mean time to wait with meekness and patience for the repentance of the erring person, till God shall enable him to see and embrace the truth. Mr. LIMBORCH concludes his dedication with his wishes, that Providence would bless his Grace's pious labours for the peace and benefit of the church, and grant, that he might restore and support it by the same means, to which it ow'd its first rise, progress, and establishment.

His Grace had likewise a great regard for another very learned man among the *Arminians* in *Holland*, to whom the *English* nation is greatly obliged for the reputation, which our best writers of the last and present century have acquired in foreign countries. This was Mons. LE CLERC, whose translation of, and paraphrase and commentary upon *Genesis*, published in 1693, gave such satisfaction to the Archbishop, that, after he had read part of it, he testified his approbation of it by a letter to the author, and afterwards sent him a present of Bishop KIDDER's *Commentary on the five books of Moses*, published in 1694°. But that Prelate having in his *Dissertation* concerning the author of the *Pentateuch* pass'd a judgment upon Mons. LE CLERC's work, which the latter was persuaded the Archbishop disapproved, he wrote to the Bishop on the 5th of *November* 1694, to complain of his lordship's charging him with ill arts, and having said things, which could only have been expected from a disciple of HOBBS, or a deist. Bishop KIDDER return'd an answer from *Wells* on the 9th of that month, promising to do justice to his character, which promise he repeated soon after to a friend of Mons. LE CLERC: who, upon his Lordship's dying without publicly retracting

• *Bibliothèque Choisie, Tom. IV. Art. X. p. 364.*

ing the censure above-mention'd, printed the letters, which had pass'd between them on that subject<sup>p</sup>.

The success at sea in the summer of the year 1692, and the preservation of his Majesty's person, both from an intended assassination by the *Sieur de GRAND-VAL*, to which, according to his own confession, King JAMES and his Queen, as well as the *French* court, were privy, and in the unfortunate battle of *Steinkirk*, on the 24th of *July*, against Marshal *LUXEMBOURG*, occasioning a public thanksgiving on the 27th of *October*, the Archbishop was appointed to preach before their Majesties, after the Bishop of *Salisbury* had excused himself. For the Queen having sent that Bishop a text, *Exod. iv. 13.* he prepar'd a sermon upon it; but then humbly represented to her Majesty, that he having preach'd the two thanksgiving sermons in the two preceding years, it would look as if none else was willing to perform that office, if it should be still laid upon him. The Queen saw the force of this remark, and order'd the Archbishop to preach on that occasion; but the Bishop's sermon, tho' not preach'd, was afterwards published by him with others in 1713. That of his Grace was on *Jerem. ix. 23, 24.* in which he describes the revolution, as the cause of true religion against a false and idolatrous worship, and of the liberties of mankind against tyranny and oppression; expressing no favourable opinion of the sincerity of some of the enemies to it. "As bad an  
" argument, *says he*, as success is of a good cause,  
" I am sorry to say it, but I am afraid it is true, it  
" is like in the conclusion to prove the best argu-  
" ment of all others to convince those, who have so  
" long pretended conscience against submission to  
" the present government. Mere success, *adds he*,  
" is certainly one of the worst arguments in the  
" world

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. p. 370. & seqq.

“ world of a good cause, and the most improper to  
 “ satisfy conscience. And yet we find by experi-  
 “ ence, that in the issue it is the most successful of  
 “ all other arguments, and does in a very odd but  
 “ effectual way satisfy the consciences of a great  
 “ many men by shewing them their interest.” This  
 passage highly enraged Dr. HICKES<sup>a</sup>, as well as the  
 compliments to King WILLIAM, in which there is  
 one instance of false eloquence unusual in his Grace’s  
 writings. It is that, where taking notice of LEWIS  
 XIV’s unprincely manner of insulting over King  
 WILLIAM, when he believ’d him to have been slain  
 at the *Boyne*, he adds, that “ no mortal man ever had  
 “ his shoulder so *kindly kiss’d* by a cannon bullet :”  
 an expression which gave Dr. SOUTH, no friend to  
 him or his memory, the advantage of animadverting  
 upon it as a *peculiar strain of rhetoric*.

The King having escaped the most imminent danger in the battle of *Landen* in *July* 1693 against Marshal LUXEMBOURG, in which the Earl of *Portland* was wounded, the Archbishop took the first opportunity of writing to his Lordship the following letter :

*August* 1, 1693.

“ My Lord,

“ **I** Cannot forbear on this great occasion to con-  
 “ gratulate the King’s safety and merciful pre-  
 “ servation from the many deaths, to which his  
 “ royal person was so eminently exposed in the late  
 “ bloody engagement. I thank God from my  
 “ heart, who protected him in that day of danger,  
 “ and likewise preserved your Lordship’s life,  
 “ which had been so lately restored. I hope the  
 “ wound your Lordship received is not dangerous,  
 “ and

<sup>a</sup> Some discourses, p. 56, 58.

<sup>†</sup> Dr. SOUTH’s sermons, vol. III. p. 570. Edit. 1698.

<sup>•</sup> From his draught in short-hand.



“ and that it may be healed without losing the use  
 “ of your hand. We have got but a very imper-  
 “ fect account of the issue of the whole action, and  
 “ what has happened since, having received no let-  
 “ ters of a later date than the morning after the  
 “ fight, by reason of contrary winds.

“ I did not intend to have troubled your Lord-  
 “ ship about so small a matter, as I am going to  
 “ mention. I have heard it from so many hands,  
 “ that I think myself oblig’d to rectify the mistake,  
 “ because though the thing, which is said, be true, I  
 “ doubt the occasion of it has been misrepresented  
 “ to his Majesty. The thing was thus: The Master  
 “ of *Stairs* shewed me a draught of the *Scots* bill of  
 “ comprehension, telling me, that by this act the  
 “ Episcopal ministers were required to own the  
 “ Presbyterian government as the *only* government.  
 “ I asked him, if no other words were added to  
 “ qualify that clause; viz. *as the only government*  
 “ *of this church, or establish’d by law?* He said, No.  
 “ Then I ask’d, if the bill was *so* pass’d. He said,  
 “ it was *so* pass’d the committee of the house. I  
 “ told him, I did not believe, when it was brought  
 “ into the house, it would pass there. But I was  
 “ sure the King would never consent to have that  
 “ clause, without some other words to explain it, *as*  
 “ *the only government of this church*, or the like;  
 “ and then the bill would not be a bill of compre-  
 “ hension, but of exclusion. This was what passed  
 “ between the Master of *Stairs* and myself; and if  
 “ he has represented this matter any otherwise to  
 “ his Majesty, he has used me very ill. I intreat  
 “ your Lordship to set his Majesty right in this  
 “ matter.

“ I pray God still to preserve his sacred person,  
 “ and make him victorious. I shall be glad to hear

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“ of your Lordship’s perfect recovery, who am,  
“ with the trueſt eſteem and reſpect,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordſhip’s moſt faithful

“ and humble ſervant,

“ J. C.”

This letter, as well as his Grace’s known moderation and tendereſs in matters of conſcience, will be a ſufficient vindication of him from a memorandum pretended to have been found in the ſtudy of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. CREECH, the tranſlator and editor of LUCRETIVS, at the auction of his books in Oxford<sup>t</sup>. The ſubſtance of it was, that “ whatever  
“ ſteps were taken, and all that was done for the  
“ abolishing Episcopacy, and ſubverſion of the  
“ church of *Scotland*, was done by the contrivance,  
“ advice, and approbation of Dr. TILLOTSON;” the writer of this memorandum adding, “ This I  
“ had from JOHNSON, who was certain of, and  
“ knew the whole matter, when I was down in the  
“ North.” But for a fuller vindication of his Grace from this charge, it will be neceſſary to trace back the real cauſes of the abolition of Episcopacy in *Scotland*, which were intirely foreign to any influence or interpoſition of the Archbiſhop, if he had been inclined to it; whereas on the contrary he appears to have endeavour’d the mitigation of all ſevere impositions upon the Episcopal clergy in that kingdom. And in fact the true reaſon of the deſtruction of Episcopacy there after the revolution is to be imputed to the conduct of the Biſhops themſelves both previous and ſubſequent to it. They had render’d themſelves univerſally obnoxious as the immediate creatures of the court of King JAMES, and had written to him a letter of abhorrence of the intended expedition

<sup>t</sup> Life of Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, p. 3, and 53.

expedition of the Prince of Orange, dated at *Edinburgh* November the 3d, 1688, and filled with the strongest assurances of promoting in all his Majesty's subjects *an intrepid and stedfast allegiance* to him, *as an essential part of their religion, and of the glory*, add they, *of our holy profession*. The Episcopal party indeed sent up Dr. SCOT, Dean of *Glasgow*, in *February* 1688<sup>8</sup>, to the Prince of Orange, who assured them of all possible favour, if they should concur with the new settlement of *Scotland*. But being possessed by the Viscount *Dundee* with the opinion of a restoration of King JAMES, they adher'd so strongly to his interest, that it was not possible for King WILLIAM to preserve Episcopacy; all those, who declared themselves his friends, being equally zealous against that form of church-government; which was accordingly abolish'd by an act of the *Scots* Parliament on the 22d of *July* 1689<sup>u</sup>.

The state of that kingdom, in the beginning of the year 169<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, was represented to the King in a paper delivered to him by the Lord Viscount TARBOT, who had been much trusted and employed in *Scotland* by King CHAELES II. and his successor, as he was afterwards by Queen ANNE, who made him Earl of *Cromarty*, and Secretary of state. This paper was transcribed by the Archbishop in shorthand in his Common-place-book, with a remark of his own at the end of it, that it "seemed to contain the most likely proposal for an agreement to be condescended to on both sides [the Episcopalians and Presbyterians] that had yet been offer'd."

A copy

<sup>u</sup> KENNET, *vol.* III. p. 555, 572, 575. and BURNET, *vol.* II. p. 23.

A copy of the Lord TARBOT's paper given in by him to the King,

" January 1st 1691.

" Orkney, Caithness, Ross, Murray, Aberdeen,  
 " Brechin, Dunkeld, and the greatest part of Dum-  
 " blain, are provinces", where the ministers are  
 " good men, and well-beloved of the people, and  
 " have owned their Majesties government; are  
 " ready to own the confession of faith; and many  
 " of them have already addressed upon the King's  
 " last letter: And it will most certainly dissatisfy  
 " all those provinces, if their Ministers be not *assum-*  
 " *ed*. In all the rest of the provinces in the South  
 " and West, most of the Episcopal clergy are<sup>\*</sup> al-  
 " ready deposed. The few, that are left, are very  
 " well loved by the people. The Presbyteries of  
 " Dunbar, and Haddingtown in Louthian, and  
 " Dumferline in Fife, and Presbyteries of Sterling,  
 " have excellent Ministers, and loved by their peo-  
 " ple.—May it not please *all*, that the Ministers of  
 " the Northern provinces be *assumed*; and in the  
 " South only those few of the aforesaid four Pres-  
 " byteries (which in all will not amount to thirty  
 " ministers) and no more be assumed at this time?  
 " —That a commission be appointed to wait on  
 " the King's commissioner for reviewing all pro-  
 " cesses complained of; and to report to the next  
 " general assembly, whether the complaints be from  
 " ministers or parishes.—To prohibit all commis-  
 " sions of the general assembly, as dangerous, and  
 " not consistent with the forms of Presbytery.—To  
 " hasten the close of the assembly, and to appoint  
 " a new

<sup>\*</sup> Scotland divided into two parts, one North, &c. which contain together 35 provinces.

<sup>x</sup> Since the year 1690, the Episcopalists have lost all places and preferments.



“ a new one to a long day ; with a clause, unless  
“ his Majesty sees fit to call it sooner, *pro re natâ*.  
“ —To recommend it to the commissioner and com-  
“ mission, the particular and notable cases com-  
“ plained of to their Majesties.”

In the parliament of *Scotland* held in 1693 by the Duke of *Hamilton*, as the King's commissioner, the bill of comprehension, mentioned in the Archbishop's letter to the Earl of *Portland*, was first framed in the manner shewn him by Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, then Master, and afterwards Earl of *Stairs*, who had been made Secretary of state for that kingdom in 1690, but was removed from that post in 1695 for his concern in the massacre at *Glencoe*. The Archbishop being offended with the rigour of this test, endeavoured to soften it ; and in his Common-place-book are these two draughts :

The test of the Ministers, that are to be admitted,  
as it was *first* proposed.

“ I *A. B.* do sincerely declare and promise, that  
“ I will own and submit to the present Presbyterian  
“ government of the church, as it is now by law  
“ established in this kingdom, under their Maje-  
“ sties King WILLIAM and Queen MARY. And  
“ that I will heartily concur with, and under it, for  
“ the suppression of sin and wickedness, the pro-  
“ moting of piety, and the purging of the church  
“ of all erroneous and scandalous Ministers. And  
“ that I do also assent and consent to the confession  
“ of faith, and to the larger and shorter catechisms,  
“ now confirm'd by act of Parliament, as the stand-  
“ ard of the Protestant religion in this kingdom.”

This

This test may be mollified in this form, if it be thought fit.

“ I *A. B.* do sincerely declare and promise, that  
 “ I will submit to the Presbyterian government of  
 “ the church, as it is now by law established in this  
 “ kingdom, under their Majesties King WILLIAM  
 “ and QUEEN MARY, by Presbyteries, provincial  
 “ synods, and a general assembly ; and that I will,  
 “ as becomes a Minister of the Gospel, heartily  
 “ concur with the said government for the suppress-  
 “ sing of sin and wickedness, the promoting of  
 “ piety, and purging the church of erroneous and  
 “ scandalous Ministers. And I do further promise,  
 “ that I will subscribe the confession of faith, and  
 “ the larger and shorter catechisms, now confirm-  
 “ ed by act of Parliament, as containing the doc-  
 “ trine of the Protestant religion professed in this  
 “ kingdom.”

But notwithstanding the unusual terms of moderation, to which the Presbyterians in *Scotland* were brought, with regard to the Episcopal clergy, yet the latter refus'd both them and the oaths to the government<sup>r</sup>.

Bishop WILKINS's excellent Treatise, intitled, *Ecclesiastes ; or a Discourse concerning the Gift of preaching, as it falls under the Rules of Art*, which had already pass'd through six Editions since the first in 1646, wanting now the hand of a careful Editor for a new one, the Archbishop requested his friend, Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*, to undertake that task ; which he executed with great industry and skill. For, as he informed his Grace in the Dedication of the seventh Edition, dated *April 1, 1693*, upon engaging in it, he found, that, besides the correction of the errors of the press,  
 there

there might be a considerable improvement made of the work, since, after the course of so many years from its first publication, that part of Learning had much increas'd; for which reason he thought, that he could not do right to his Grace, or the author, or the design, without advising with others of greater ability and judgment than himself; by whose help, and especially that of Dr. Moor, Bishop of *Norwich*, the Original was much improv'd by a multitude of authors of celebrated note in their several ways.

The marriage of Lady RUSSEL's second daughter CATHERINE to JOHN Lord Ross, afterwards Duke of *Rutland*, on the 17th of *August* 1693, gave occasion to the following<sup>2</sup> letter of congratulation from the Archbishop to her Ladyship,

“ *Lambeth-House, Aug, 26, 1693.*

“ Madam,

“ **T**H<sup>O</sup> no body rejoices more than myself in  
“ the happiness of your Ladyship and your  
“ children, yet in the hurry, in which you must  
“ needs have been, I could not think it fit to give  
“ you the disturbance so much as of a letter, which  
“ otherwise had both in friendship and good man-  
“ ners been due upon this great occasion. But now  
“ that busy time is in a good measure over, I can-  
“ not forbear, after so many, as, I am sure, have  
“ been before me, to congratulate with your Lady-  
“ ship this happy match of your daughter; for so  
“ I heartily pray it may prove, and have great rea-  
“ son to believe it will, because I cannot but look  
“ upon it as part of the comfort and reward of your  
“ patience and submission to the will of God, under  
“ the sorest and most heavy affliction, that could  
“ have befallen you; and when God sends and  
“ intends

<sup>2</sup> From a copy in the possession of the late Bishop of *London*.

“ intends a blessing, it shall have no sorrow or evil  
“ with it.

“ I intreat my Lord Ross and his Lady to accept  
“ of my humble service, and my hearty wishes of  
“ great and lasting happiness.

“ My poor wife is at present very ill, which goes  
“ very near me. And having said this, I know  
“ we shall have your prayers. I intreat you to give  
“ my very humble service to my Lord of *Bedford*,  
“ my Lord *RUSSEL*, and to my Lord *CAVENDISH*  
“ and his Lady. I could upon several accounts be  
“ melancholy, but I will not upon so joyful an oc-  
“ casion. I pray God to preserve and bless your  
“ Ladyship, and all the good family at *Woburn*,  
“ and to make us all concern'd to prepare ourselves  
“ with the greatest care for a better life. I am with  
“ all true respect and esteem, Madam,

“ Your Ladyship's most faithful

“ and most humble servant,

“ *JO. CANT.*”

His Grace wrote likewise to her Ladyship another letter <sup>a</sup> in *October* following, in answer to one, which her friendship for him and concern for his wife's indisposition had drawn from her, notwithstanding a disorder in her eyes, which had long troubled her, and threatned a total failure of sight, which befel her in the latter years of her life. This letter of his shews, that his own integrity had not prevented him from the disagreeable conviction of the great want of sincerity in what he calls *the upper part of the world*.

“ *Lambeth-*

<sup>a</sup> From a copy in the possession of the late Bishop of *London*.



" Lambeth-House, October 13, 1693.

" I Have forborn, Madam, hitherto, even to acknowledge the receipt of your Ladyship's letter, and your kind concernment for mine and my wife's health, because I saw how unmerciful you were to your eyes in your last letter to me ; so that I should certainly have repented the provocation I gave you to it by mine, had not so great and good an occasion made it necessary.

" I had intended this morning to have sent Mr. VERNON to *Wooburn*, to have inquired of your Ladyship's health, having but newly heard, that since your return from *Belvoir* a dangerous fever had seized upon you. But yesterday morning at council I happily met with Mr. RUSSEL, who to my great joy told me, that he hoped that danger was over ; for which I thank God with all my heart, because I did not know, how fatal the event might be, after the care and hurry you had been in, and in so sickly a season.

" The King's return is now only hindered by contrary winds. I pray God to send him safe to us, and to direct him what to do when he is come. I was never so much at my wit's end concerning the public. God only can bring us out of the labyrinth we are in, and I trust he will.

" My wife gives her most humble service and thanks to you for your concernment for her, and does rejoice equally with me for the good news of your recovery.

" Never since I knew the world, had I so much reason to value my friends. In the condition I now am, I can have no new ones, or, if I could, I can have no assurance, that they are so. I could not at a distance believe, that the upper end of the world was so hollow as I find it. I except a very few, of whom I can believe no ill, till I plainly see it.

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“ I have ever earnestly coveted your letters ; but  
 “ now I do as earnestly beg of you to spare them  
 “ for my sake, as well as your own.

“ With my very humble service to my good  
 “ Lord of *Bedford*, and to all yours, and my hearty  
 “ prayers to God for you all, I remain, Madam,

“ Your Ladyship’s most obliged

“ and obedient servant,

“ JO. CANT.”

The death of his predecessor, Archbishop SANCROFT, on the 24th of *November* 1693, was soon follow’d by a panegyric upon the deceas’d Prelate, intituled, *A letter out of Suffolk to a friend in London*<sup>b</sup>, intermix’d with many severe reflections upon Archbishop TILLOTSON, by way of pretended contrast between him and his successor. It is remark’d there<sup>c</sup>, that while the former sat in the chair, there was *no underhand trucking with Socinians, or others out of the communion of the church of England*; that he was never “ at the bottom of any project to give up the  
 “ liturgy, the rites and ceremonies of the church ;  
 “ for alas ! quite contrary to modern policy, he  
 “ thought, that the best way to preserve a society  
 “ had been in keeping stedfastly to all the terms  
 “ of it. . . He had not that *latitude* of principle  
 “ to sacrifice the church out of secular intrigues and  
 “ politics, and to deliver up the mounds and fences  
 “ of it to a party, which had been endeavouring  
 “ the destruction of it for a hundred years and more,  
 “ and who once had effectually ruined her. When  
 “ he had favour at court, and was able to recom-  
 “ mend a person to the highest offices in the church,  
 “ it was never his custom to lay aside, or postpone,  
 “ the most worthy and able men, and firm to the  
 “ con-

<sup>b</sup> Printed at *London* in 1694 in 4to.

<sup>c</sup> P. 11.

“ constitution of the church, and to make use  
 “ of his interest to advance a sort of men, who are  
 “ equally principled for *Geneva* as for *England*, or  
 “ for any constitution besides ; who were never true  
 “ nor honest to the church in their inferior charges,  
 “ and who are far better qualified to betray than to  
 “ support her. In fine, when he was possess’d of  
 “ the revenues belonging to his church, he never  
 “ made it his business to destroy and plunder it, by  
 “ cutting down the timber upon little pretences,  
 “ and then putting the money into his own pocket.  
 “ Upon the whole, he was a *true father* ; the in-  
 “ terests of the church were his own ; and he spent  
 “ himself in preserving her honour, rights, and re-  
 “ venues : Whereas it hath been long ago observed,  
 “ that an *intruder* is always a *step-father*, who spins  
 “ out the bowels of the church, and fattens himself  
 “ with her blood ; who having *no legal right* and  
 “ foundation, is for compounding with religion,  
 “ and bartering the securities of the church to sup-  
 “ port himself, and uphold the injustice of his own  
 “ tenure. And this observation is so true, that it  
 “ hath never yet failed in any one instance. He,  
 “ that came into the church a *thief* and a *robber*,  
 “ hath always continued so ; and from the begin-  
 “ ning of the church to this very day, there hath  
 “ not been one *ecclesiastical usurper*, but who, in  
 “ one or more instances, hath pawned something  
 “ of religion to gain an accession to his party, and  
 “ to secure and strengthen his unrighteous posses-  
 “ sion.” The writer of this *letter* afterwards af-  
 “ firms<sup>d</sup>, that the deceas’d Archbishop had left be-  
 “ hind him very few, who in that degenerate age were  
 “ likely to equal his virtues, or to come near them  
 “ by many degrees ; “ and none less, *says he*, than  
 “ *him, who sits in his chair*, and some others, who  
 “ fill the Sees of our depriv’d Bishops.” And he

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adds,

adds\*, that Archbishop SANCROFT being forced to leave *Lambeth*, “ he did not leave his virtues behind him to be possess’d by the *next comer*, (and “ if this needs to be prov’d, we have ocular demonstration) but they follow’d his person in all “ fortunes and places; and we had a most reverend “ Archbishop at *Fresingfield*, when there was none “ at *Lambeth*, nor nothing like it.” Such was the language of the Nonjuring party concerning the two Archbishops, canonizing the one, while they scrupled no topic of invective against the other, though with so little ground of truth, or shadow of probability, that it is absolutely unnecessary to make particular remarks upon their libels against him.

In the few moments of leisure, which his elevated station left him, he revis’d his sermons, and published in 1693 four of them *concerning the divinity and incarnation of our blessed Saviour*: The true reason of which, as the reader is inform’d in a short advertisement prefix’d to them, was not that, which is commonly alledg’d for printing books, the importunity of friends, but the importunate clamours and calumnies of others, whom he heartily prayed God to forgive, and to give them better minds.

These sermons had been preach’d in 1679 and 1680 at his Lecture at *St. Lawrence Jewry*, and the publication was design’d not only to remove the imputation rais’d by the Papists, and adopted by a party opposite to him, of his being a Socinian<sup>f</sup>, but likewise for the satisfaction of his friend Mr. THOMAS FIRMIN. This public-spirited and charitable man, who is mentioned by the Archbishop in his funeral sermon upon Mr. GOUGE as a *worthy and useful citizen*, was a native of *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, where he was born in 1632, and having served an apprenticeship with a master, who was a hearer of Mr. JOHN GODWIN of *Coleman-Street*, he first aban-

\* P. 26.

<sup>f</sup> BURNET’S *Reflections*, p. 105.



abandoned the principles of CALVIN for those of ARMINIUS, and afterwards adopted those of the Unitarians from his conversation with Mr. JOHN BIDDLE<sup>e</sup>, who had been imprisoned in December 1645, for publishing his thoughts upon the subject of the Trinity, and in danger of suffering death for them in 1648, thro' the zeal of the assembly of Divines, and was confined several years in the Island of Scilly<sup>h</sup>, as he was after the restoration in Newgate, where he contracted a disease, which, the second day after his removal from thence by the indulgence of one of the Sheriffs, put an end to his life September 22, 1662, in his 47th year. Mr. FIRMIN's zeal for his instructor was so great, that he ventured, while he was only an apprentice, to deliver a petition for his release out of Newgate to OLIVER CROMWELL, who gave him this short answer; "You curl-pate boy you, do you think I'll shew any favour to a man, who denies his Savour, and disturbs the government?" Mr. FIRMIN soon became a considerable trader in London, by which he might have acquired a very large fortune, if he had not been constantly employed in all conceivable methods of serving the public\*, which gained him an universal esteem, and particularly with the most eminent of the Clergy, though his peculiar notions were well known. And his charity

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was

<sup>e</sup> Life of Mr. THOMAS FIRMIN, p. 5—10.

<sup>h</sup> WOOD. Ath. Oxon. vol II. col. 304, 305, and Life of Mr. BIDDLE, prefix'd to a collection of Tracts, intitled, The Faith of one GOD, &c. asserted and vindicated, p. 5—9. Edit. London 1691 in 4to.

<sup>i</sup> KENNET's register and chronicle, p. 761.

\* He publish'd at London in 1681 in 4to, *Some proposals for the Employment of the Poor, and for the prevention of Idleness, and the consequence thereof, begging; a practice so dishonourable to the nation and to the Christian religion: In a letter to a Friend, by T. F.* In this piece he gives a particular account of the Work-house erected by him about four years before in *Little Britain*, in the parish of *Aldersgate*, for the employment of the Poor in the Linen Manufacture. See likewise his *Life*, p. 29—40.

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was so unconfin'd and impartial, that he began to exert himself in collecting money for the depriv'd Nonjurors, upon the foot of a scheme drawn up by Mr. KETTLEWELL, till he was deterred from proceeding in it by some of his great friends, who told him, that this scheme was illegal, being calculated for the support of the enemies of the government\*. He died on the 20th of *December* 1697, in the 66th year of his age, being attended in his last illness by his intimate friend Dr. EDWARD FOWLER<sup>1</sup>, who had been advanc'd to the See of *Gloucester* in *July* 1691. His understanding and knowledge were very remarkable, but he was entirely ignorant of the learned languages, and the school logic and philosophy<sup>m</sup>. His hypothesis with respect to the Trinity was that of ARIUS, tho' he was commonly stiled a Socinian; and he was an industrious propagator of the books, published in favour of his own opinions after the revolution<sup>n</sup>.

The Archbishop having sent him one of the first copies of his *four sermons* from the press, Mr. FIRMIN not being convinced by them, caused a respectful answer to be drawn up and publish'd in 1694 in 4to, under the title of *Considerations on the explications of the doctrine of the Trinity*; in which his Grace is stiled *the common father of the nation*, and acknowledg'd to have “instructed the Socinians  
“ themselves with the air and language of a father,  
“ not of an adversary or judge;” and that they were “concern'd for their own reputation to reverence his person and admonitions, because it is  
“ agreed among all good men, or that but profess  
“ to be such, that he is respected and loved by all  
“ but those, that are also known to hate their country; and hath no other maligners, but the ene-

“ mics

\* *Life of Mr. KETTLEWELL*, p. 420, 421.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Mr. FIRMIN*, p. 82, 83.

<sup>m</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15.      <sup>n</sup> BURNET, *vol.* II. p. 211, 212.

“mies of the nation itself.” A copy of these *Considerations* was given by Mr. FIRMIN to his Grace, who having read them over, only said to him, “My Lord of Sarum shall humble your writers.” But he never express’d afterwards the least coldness to that gentleman on account of the *Considerations*, to whom he had before declar’d, upon the publication of his *four sermons*, that he was oblig’d by the calumnies of people to publish them; and that what he now printed was what he thought at the time of preaching them, and continued to think; but that no false imputations should provoke him to give ill language to persons, who dissented conscientiously, and for weighty reasons; which he knew well to be the case of the Socinians, for whose learning and dexterity he should always have a respect, as well as for their sincerity and exemplariness\*. These *Considerations* did not long continue without a reply; for Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*, wrote the same year a *vindication* of the Archbishop’s *four sermons*, and of the Bishop of *Worcester*’s *Sermon on the mysteries of the Christian faith*. The *imprimatur* to it is dated *November 17th 1694*, the day before the Archbishop was seiz’d with his last illness; but it was not publish’d till 1695 in 4to, with a dedication to JAMES CHADWICK, Esq; his Grace’s son-in-law; in which Dr. WILLIAMS observes, that it was not without the Archbishop’s direction and encouragement, that he entered upon that work; and that had he lived to have perused the whole, as he did a part of it a few days before his last hours, *it had come with greater advantage into the world, as having pass’d the trial of that exact and impartial judgment, which he was wont to exercise in matters of this nature*. To this piece is subjoin’d a letter to the

U 4 author

\* Life of Mr. THOMAS FIRMIN, late Citizen of London. Written by one of his most intimate acquaintance, p. 15, 16, 17. Edit. London 1698.

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author from Dr. BURNET Bishop of Sarum, dated at *Westminster* 2d of *February* 169 $\frac{4}{5}$ , in which he speaks with great contempt and severity of the late pieces published in *England* in defence of the *Unitarian* principles.

But how little soever the Archbishop was thought by the Socinians themselves a friend to their notions, and though they published an answer to his *four sermons* against them, yet these very sermons were urg'd by his enemies to support the imputation of Socinianism, with which he had been loaded. For in 1695 there was published in 4to, said to be printed at *Edinburgh*, a piece intitled, *The charge of Socinianism against Dr. TILLOTSON considered, in examination of some sermons he has lately published on purpose to clear himself from that imputation. By way of dialogue between F. a Friend of Dr. T's, and C. a Catholic Christian. To which is added some reflections upon the second of Dr. BURNET's four discourses concerning the divinity and death of Christ, printed in 1694. To which is likewise annex'd a supplement upon occasion of a History of religion lately published, supposed to be wrote by Sir R. H——D. Wherein likewise CHARLES BLOUNT's great DIANA is considered; and both compar'd with Dr. TILLOTSON's sermons. By a true son of the church.* The whole performance, which the writer declares in his preface to have been written before the Archbishop's death, is written in a style of invective and scurrility, as unsuitable to the discussion of a question of religion, as to the character of the person, against whom it is levelled. It asserts, that his Grace's sermons, “are all the genuine effects of *Hobbism*, which  
“loosens the notions of religion, takes from it all  
“that is spiritual, ridicules whatever is called *super-*  
“*natural*; it reduces *God* to *matter*, and *religion* to  
“*nature*. In this school Dr. T. has these many  
“ years



“ years held the first form, and now diffuses his  
 “ poison from a high station. . . . His politics are  
 “ Leviathan, and his religion is Latitudinarian,  
 “ which is none ; that is, nothing that is *positive*,  
 “ but against every thing that is positive in other  
 “ religions ; whereby to reduce all religions to an  
 “ uncertainty, and determinable only by the civil  
 “ power. . . . He is own’d by the Atheistical wits  
 “ of all *England* as their true Primate and Apostle.  
 “ They glory and rejoice in him, and make their  
 “ public boasts of him. He leads them not only  
 “ the length of Socinianism (they are but slender  
 “ beaux have got no farther than that) but to call  
 “ in question all revelation, to turn *Genesis*, &c.  
 “ into a mere romance ; to ridicule the whole as  
 “ BLOUNT, GILDON, and others of the Doctor’s  
 “ disciples have done in print.” The writer pro-  
 ceeds in this strain, asserting<sup>a</sup>, that a thread of *plain*  
 and *downright Hobbism* runs thro’ all the Archbi-  
 shop’s works, whose principles he styles *diabolical*,  
 and that he had by them *deeply poisoned* the nation.  
 Dr. HICKES was privy to the writing of this piece,  
 for he recommended<sup>†</sup> it, as what he hop’d would  
 see the light before the publication of his own *Dis-*  
*courses upon Dr. BURNET and Dr. TILLOTSON.*

It was replied to in *A twofold vindication of the*  
*late Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the author of*  
*the History of religion* ; in which Dr. ALEXANDER  
 MONRO, an eminent Nonjuring divine, formerly  
 Principal of the College of *Edinburgh*, and author  
 of a very good volume of sermons printed at *Lon-*  
*don* in 1693, and of *A letter to a gentleman upon oc-*  
*casion of some new opinions in religion*, printed in  
 1696 in 4to, being consider’d as the writer of *The*  
*charge of Socinianism against Dr. TILLOTSON*, he  
 published the same year 1696, *A letter to the honou-*  
*erable Sir ROBERT HOWARD*, denying his having  
 had

<sup>a</sup> P. 16,

<sup>†</sup> Some discourses, p. 53, 54.

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had any concern in that piece, or having seen it till after it was printed; to which purpose he had published an advertisement in *January* that year; and he affirms\*, that the real author of *the charge* was never in *Scotland*, tho' in the title-page it is pretended to have been printed at *Edinburgh*. And indeed it is now known to have been the production of that voluminous polemical writer, Mr. CHARLES LESLEY, a man of some learning and wit, but accompanied with a vein of scurrility, that must render his writings in general disgusting to the present age and posterity, however applauded in his own time, and by his own party. He was son of Dr. JOHN LESLEY Bishop of *Clogher*, and in 1687 was made Chancellor of the Diocese of *Connor* in *Ireland*, the year before the revolution; and though a declar'd enemy to it afterwards, is said to have been the first, who began the war in *Ireland* against JAMES II. affirming, in a speech solemnly made, that he, by declaring himself a Papist, could no longer be King, since he could not be the defender of our faith, nor the head of our church; dignities so inherent in the crown, that he, who was incapable of these, could not hold it: and as he animated the people with this speech, so some actions followed under his conduct, in which several men were kill'd†. He died in *Ireland* in *March* 1721-2.

The Archbishop's concern for inculcating the principles of steadfastness in religion, and the private and domestic duties of it, with the advantages of early piety, and a right education of children, engag'd his Grace to publish in 1694 six sermons upon those subjects, which had been preach'd by him in the church of *St. Laurence Jewry*. In the preface he expresses his hope, that he should for the remainder of his life be releas'd from *that irksome and unpleasant work of controversy and wrangling about religion*;

\* P. 9.

† BURNET, vol. II, p. 538.

religion; and his resolution of turning his thoughts to something more agreeable to his temper, and of a more direct and immediate tendency to the promoting of true religion, to the happiness of human society, and the reformation of the world; being sensible, how fast the infirmities of age were coming upon him. "I knew very well, *adds he, with his usual modesty*, before I entered upon this great and weighty charge, my own manifold defects, and how unequal my best abilities were for the due discharge of it: But I did not feel this so sensibly, as I now do every day more and more. And therefore, that I might make some small amends for great failings, I knew not how better to place the broken hours I had to spare from almost perpetual business of one kind or other, than in preparing something for the public, that might be of use to recover the decayed piety and virtue of the present age, in which iniquity doth so much abound, and the love of God and religion is grown so cold."

The last sermon, which his Grace preach'd before their Majesties, was on the 25th of February 169 $\frac{3}{4}$  at Whitehall on *Titus iii. 2. against evil speaking*; which was not publish'd till the year after his death, together with that on a *heavenly conversation*.

The death of Dr. JOHN CONANT, Rector of *Exeter-college* in *Oxford*, Prebendary of *Worcester*, and Archdeacon of *Norwich*, and author of several volumes publish'd by Bishop WILLIAMS, gave the Archbishop in 1694 an opportunity of shewing his regard for that judicious Divine, Mr. JOHN JEFFREY, soon after Doctor of divinity, by collating him to that Archdeaconry, which was his Grace's option, on Bishop MOORE's promotion to the See of *Norwich*, and had been given to Dr. CONANT in June 1676 by Bishop REYNOLDS, whose daughter the Doctor had married. Mr. JEFFREY was born

at

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at Ipswich December 20, 1649, and educated at *Cambridge-Hall* in Cambridge under Dr. JOHN ECHARD, the celebrated author of *The grounds and reasons of the contempt of the Clergy*, and the *Dialogues between PHILAUTUS and TIMOTHY*, the pleasantry of which levell'd against Mr. HOBBS's opinions so much disconcerted the gravity of that severe philosopher. From the Curacy of *Dennington* in *Suffolk*, which he had serv'd for some years, he was chosen in 1678 Minister of *St. Peter's* of *Mancroft*, in *Norwich*. Here he contracted a friendship with Sir EDWARD ATKYNS<sup>u</sup>, Lord Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, who then spent the long vacations in that city. By this gentleman he was carried to *London*, and introduced there to the acquaintance of several eminent men, and particularly the Archbishop, then Preacher of *Lincoln's-Inn*, who often engag'd Mr. JEFFERY to preach for him there, and was probably the means of making him known to Dr. WHICHCOT, three volumes of whose sermons were afterwards publish'd by Mr. JEFFERY. And it is not to be doubted, but that if his Grace had lived much longer, he would have rais'd the Archdeacon to a more conspicuous station in the church<sup>w</sup>; whose learning, piety, and thorough knowledge of the true principles of Christianity would have adorn'd the highest, and are a sufficient recommendation of his writings lately collected

<sup>u</sup> Sir EDWARD ATKYNS had been long a most intimate friend of the Archbishop, as appears from a passage in the *Life of Mr. ISAAC MILLES*, *Rector of Hichcleer* in Hampshire, publish'd in 1721 in 8vo by his son, Dr. THOMAS MILLES, Bishop of *Waterford* in Ireland, who mentions, p. 33. that Mr. MILLES being introduc'd by Sir EDWARD to Mr. TILLOTSON, at *Barley* in *Hertfordshire*, discerned in him during the little conversation, which he then had with him, such an *openness* and *clearness*, such a *civility* and *obligingness of deportment*, as he never found in any other man.

<sup>w</sup> *Memoirs of the life of Dr. JEFFERY*, prefix'd to A complete collection of his sermons and tracts, in two volumes, London, 1751 in 8vo.



lected and republished in a manner, that does justice both to his memory and the public.

In the beginning of the same year 1694 Mr. JOHN STRYPE, who had before distinguish'd himself as Editor of the second volume of Dr. JOHN LIGHTFOOT's works, having now finish'd the impression of the *Life of Archbishop CRANMER* in folio, addressed it to the Archbishop in a modest dedication, in which he takes notice, that his Grace's "deserts  
"towards this church and the reformation had  
"rais'd him to sit in Archbishop CRANMER's  
"chair, tho' with as much reluctancy, *says he*, in  
"you, as was in him." And in his preface, dated at *Low-Layton September 29, 1693*, he mentions his obligations to his Grace, as well as to his predecessor, for the use of the manuscripts in the library at *Lambeth*. This honest and industrious writer was descended of a *German* family, but born at *London*, and educated at *Catherine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, where he took the degree of Master of arts, in which he was incorporated at *Oxford July 11, 1671*. He was at first Rector of *Theydon-Boys* in *Essex*, which he was collated to in *July 1669*, and resign'd in *February* following, for the Vicarage of *Low-Layton* in the same county. Besides which he had the fine-cure Rectory of *West-Terring* in *Sussex* given him by Archbishop TENISON, and was Lecturer of *Hackney* near *London*, where he died at the house of Mr. HARRIS an Apothecary, who married his grand-daughter, on the 13th of *December 1737*, at an uncommon age, having enjoy'd his vicarage near sixty-eight years. He kept an exact diary of his own life, which was shewn me not long before his death by Mr. HARRIS; and seem'd to contain many curious circumstances relating to the literary history of his times, as he was engag'd in a frequent correspondence, especially by letters, with Archbishop WAKE, and the Bishops, BURNET, NICHOLSON, and

and ATTERBURY, and other eminent persons. His fidelity and industry will always give a value to his numerous writings, however destitute of the graces, and even of the uniformity of style, and the art of connecting facts.

The Archbishop's correspondence with Lady RUSSEL had been interrupted on her part for many months, by the disorder in her eyes increasing to such a degree, that she was oblig'd on the 27th of June 1694 to submit to the operation of couching. Upon this occasion his Grace drew up a prayer<sup>\*</sup> two days after, in which he touch'd upon the death of her husband, "whom thy holy and righteous providence, *says he*, permitted *under a colour of law* and *justice* to be *unjustly* cut off from the land of the living:" but over the words in Italics, after the first writing, he drew a line, as intending to erase them, probably from a reflection, that they might be too strong, or less suitable to a prayer.

The day before the composing of this prayer, he wrote a letter to the Bishop of *Salisbury* upon the following occasion. Upon the nomination of the Bishop to that See, a few days after their Majesties advancement to the throne, he met with some difficulties with respect to his consecration. For when his election was returned and confirmed, the precept for his consecration went in course to Archbishop SANCROFT, who declared, that he would not obey it. Some of the Bishops tried to persuade him, but in vain. The Earl of *Nottingham* likewise tried, but succeeded no better. The party, who were enemies to the revolution, had got it among them, that he had promised them not to do it. But as the time came on, and he saw, that he must be sued in a *præmunire*, he of a sudden ordered two commissions to be drawn; both which he sign'd and seal'd, one directed to the Archbishop of *York*, and all the Bishops

<sup>\*</sup> Enter'd in short-hand in his Common-place-book.

Bishops of *England*; the other to all the Bishops of the province, to execute his metropolitical authority during pleasure. The latter was made use of, and in pursuance of it Dr. BURNET was consecrated on the 31st of *March* 1689; so that this was as much Archbishop SANCROFT's own act, as if he himself had consecrated the new Bishop, and he authorized others to do what he seemed himself to think unlawful. His Vicar-General produced this commission, and was present at the consecration, and all the fees were paid to his officers. But the Nonjuring party complaining of this, in order to give them some satisfaction, the Archbishop sent by Mr. HENRY WHARTON a message (unless the latter went in his name without order) to Mr. TILLOT the Register, to send him that commission; which being accordingly sent, it was withdrawn. This violation of a public register depriv'd the Bishop of *Salisbury* of an instrument of the utmost importance to him, since the canonicalness of his consecration, and his legal right to his Bishopric, depended upon it. Thus it continued till many months after the depriv'd Archbishop's death, when notice was given the Bishop of it by one, who had occasion to know it; and upon inquiry his Lordship found it true, and accordingly took advice upon it; and what the Archbishop's was is evident from the following letter to the Bishop.

*Lambeth-House, June 28, 1694.*

" MY LORD,

" SUPPOSING your Lordship by this time  
" to be return'd from your visitation, this, I  
" hope, will find you at *Salisbury*.

" I have heard no return from *Suffolk* concerning  
" the commission, that was withdrawn. Dr. Ox-  
" ENDEN tells me, the proper method to discover  
" the truth of this matter will be, by bill in Chan-  
" cery,

? Communicated by the honourable Mr. Justice BURNET.

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“ cery, to bring Mr. WILLIAM SANCROFT, the  
 “ late Archbishop’s nephew, and Mr. WHARTON,  
 “ and Mr. TILLOT, upon their oaths to discover  
 “ their knowledge; and if the commission cannot  
 “ be found, then to have the consecration suffici-  
 “ ently attested and register’d. To ease the charge,  
 “ I think it fit, that your Lordship take in the  
 “ Bishop of *Exeter*<sup>z</sup>, whose translation is equally  
 “ concern’d.

“ I have read a great part of WILL. WOTTON’S  
 “ book, which I think to be very extraordinary,  
 “ both for the learning and judgment he hath shewn  
 “ in it, and for the manly and decent style and  
 “ manner of writing hardly to be parallel’d by any  
 “ thing, that hath been produc’d in this age by one  
 “ of his years. This, I believe, will not be un-  
 “ welcome to your Lordship, who had so great a  
 “ hand in forming this great young man.

“ Mr. GEDDES’S book finds a general acceptance  
 “ and approbation. I doubt not but he hath more  
 “ of the same kind, with which I hope he will fa-  
 “ vour the world in due time,

“ I pray God to give you health, and to preserve  
 “ you long for the use and benefit of his church,  
 “ and for the comfort of, my Lord,

“ Your affectionate friend and brother,

“ JO. CANT.

“ I leave all matters of news to a friend of yours,  
 “ that hath better intelligence; only I cannot for-  
 “ bear to tell you, that my Lady RUSSEL’S eye was  
 “ couch’d yesterday morning with very good suc-  
 “ cess, God be praised for it.

His

<sup>z</sup> Sir JONATHAN TRELAWNEY, who was translated from the  
 Bishopric of *Bristol* to that of *Exeter* April 13th 1689.



His Grace's opinion in this letter for bringing into Chancery the affair of the commission, which had been withdrawn, was follow'd by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, who resolv'd upon having all persons concerned in it examined upon oath, and proving the tenor of the commission. His Lordship giving notice of his resolution to Mr. TILLOT, the register, and telling him, that if he did not recover the commission between that time and *Michaelmas* term, he would sue him in Chancery, the consequence was, that the commission was brought back<sup>a</sup>.

Mr. WOTTON's book, mentioned in the Archbishop's letter, was the first edition of his *Reflections upon antient and modern learning*, publish'd in 1694 in 8vo, and dedicated to the Earl of *Nottingham*, whose Chaplain he was. He had been famous from his childhood for a knowledge of the languages, which few men ever attained to, being capable at five years of age of reading the *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*; and being sent to *Catharine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, in the beginning of *April* 1676, some months before he was ten years old, took the degree of Bachelor of arts in *Jan.* 1679, at twelve. The winter following he was invited to *London* by Dr. BURNET, then preacher at the *Rolls*, with whom he continued for some time, and was introduced by him to most of the learned men there. Not long after this he was chosen Fellow of *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, and in 1683 commenc'd Master of arts, as he did Bachelor of divinity in 1693. He was presented in 1691, by Dr. LLOYD, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, to the Sine-Cure of *Llandrillo* in *Denbighshire*, vacant by the death of Dr. HENRY MAURICE; and in 1693 to the Rectory of *Middleton-Keynes* in *Buckinghamshire* by his patron the Earl of *Nottingham*. He was

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collated

<sup>a</sup> Bishop BURNET's *Reflections* upon a pamphlet, intituled, *Some discourses*, p. 22, 23, 24. and *History of his own time*, vol. II. p. 8.

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collated likewise in 1705 to a Prebend of *Salisbury* by the Bishop, to whom he had dedicated his *History of Rome*, publish'd in 1701, and by whose direction it had been written, and intended for his Lordship's royal pupil the Duke of *Gloucester*. In 1707 he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of divinity by Archbishop TENISON, a title, which he had merited by the many learned writings published by him. He died at *Buxted* in *Suffex* on the 13th of *February* 1726, at the age of sixty-one, at the house of his son-in-law Mr. WILLIAM CLARKE, now Canon-residentary of *Chichester*.

MR. GEDDES's first volume of *Miscellaneous tracts*, which, as his Grace observes, met with a *general acceptance and approbation*, deserved it, as well as the subsequent volumes, on account of the many valuable pieces, which they contain, and which his long residence abroad enabled him to give the public. He was born in *Scotland*, and educated in the university of *Edinburgh*, where he took the degree of Master of arts, in which he was incorporated at *Oxford* on the 11th of *July* 1671<sup>b</sup>. He went to *Lisbon* in 1678 as Chaplain to the *English* factory; the exercise of which function giving offence to the inquisition, he was sent for by that court in 1686, and forbid to continue it. The merchants resenting this violation of their privilege, wrote immediately on the 7th of *September* that year to the Bishop of *London*, representing the case, and their own right to a Chaplain; but before their letter reach'd his Lordship, he was suspended by the ecclesiastical commission. They were deprived therefore of all exercise of their religion till the arrival of Mr. SCARBOROUGH the *English* envoy, under whose character as a public minister they were obliged to shelter themselves. Mr. GEDDES finding things in this situation, thought proper to return to *England* in  
May

<sup>b</sup>WOOD Fasti Oxon. vol. II. col. 187.

May 1688 ; where he took the degree of Doctor of laws ; and after the promotion of Dr. BURNET to the Bishopric of *Salisbury*, was made by him Chancellor of his Church.

The good of the church, and the reformation of all abuses among the Clergy, were the constant objects of the Archbishop's thoughts ; and among other resolutions and projects for those purposes, which he intimated to Mr. WHARTON in a private conference with him on the 12th of *July* 1692, one was, for obliging the Clergy to a more strict observance of residence on their cures<sup>c</sup>. He called likewise not many months before his death an assembly of the Bishops at his palace at *Lambeth*, where they agreed upon several important regulations ; which were at first design'd to be enforced by their own authority, but upon a more mature consideration afterwards he thought it better, that they should appear under that of their Majesties, in the form of royal injunctions. He wrote therefore the following letter to the Bishop of *Salisbury*<sup>d</sup> :

*Lambeth-House, August 31, 1694.*

“ MY LORD,

“ **H**AVING now an occasion of writing, I shall, notwithstanding the protestation in your last letter, say something in answer to it.

“ My Lord Marquis of *Normanby* having made Mr. WASELEY \* his Chaplain, sent Colonel FITZ-

X 2

“ GERALD

<sup>c</sup> M. S. Collections of Mr. WHARTON, in the library at *Lambeth*.

<sup>d</sup> Communicated by the honourable Mr. Justice BURNET.

\* The name is thus spelt by the Archbishop ; but the person was probably Mr. SAMUEL WESLEY, or WESTLEY, who is known to have been Chaplain to the Marquis of *Normanby*, afterwards Duke of *Buckinghamshire*. His Grandfather had been Minister

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“ GERALD to propose him for a Bishopric in *Ireland*, wherewith I acquainted her Majesty, who, according to her true judgment, did by no means think it fit. Their Majesties have made Dr. FOLEY<sup>e</sup> Bishop of *Down*, and Dean PULLEYN<sup>f</sup> Bishop of *Cloyne*.

“ I have had many thoughts about the result of the meeting at *Lambeth*, and for many reasons think it not safe by our own authority or agreement among ourselves, to endeavour a redress of abuses in the particulars proposed; nor can I think it will be effectual to its end. And therefore I have pitch’d upon the other way. your Lordship suggested to me, by a letter from their Majesties,

Minister of *Charmouth* in *Dorsetshire* before the Restoration, and his Father Mr. JOHN WESTLEY liv’d at *Whitchurch*, in that County. He was instructed in Grammar Learning in the Free School at *Dorchester*, and then educated in a private academy among the Dissenters, whom he soon abandon’d, and enter’d himself a Servitor of *Exeter College* in *Oxford* about the beginning of *Michaelmas Term* 1684 at the age of eighteen [WOOD Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 963.] and the year following publish’d at *London* in 8vo *Maggots, or Poems on several subjects never before handled*. After taking the Degree of Bachelor of Arts *June* 19th, 1688 he enter’d into Holy Orders, and became Rector of *South-Ormesby* in *Lincolnshire*, where he wrote an heroic poem, intitled the *Life of Christ*, printed at *London*, 1693, in fol. and dedicated to the Queen. He afterwards obtained the Rectory of *Epworth* in *Leicestershire*. Besides his *Letter concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their private Academies*, printed in 1703, and his *Defence* of it, he had publish’d before *The pious Communicant* at *London* in 1700 in 12<sup>mo</sup>. His great work, intitled, *Dissertationes & Conjecturae in Librum Jobi*, in fol. was not publish’d till *February* 1735, after his death, which happen’d in *May*, 1735.

<sup>e</sup> Dr. SAMUEL FOLEY, born at *Clonmel* in *Tipperary*, 25 Nov. 1655, Fellow of *Trinity College* in *Dublin* in 1677, D. D. in 1691, and consecrated Bishop of *Down* in *Sept.* 1694, in the room of Dr. THOMAS HACKET depriv’d. He died *May* 22. 1695.

<sup>f</sup> Dr. TOBIAS PULLEYN of *Trinity College Dublin*, Dean of *Fernes*, was consecrated Bishop of *Cloyne* *November* 12, 1694. and translated to *Dromore* in *May* 1695. He died in 1713.



“ Majesties, requiring me and the Archbishop  
“ of *York* to communicate their Majesties pleasure  
“ to our suffragan Bishops by way of injunctions  
“ from their Majesties. To this end I have taken  
“ for my ground the paper your Lordship left with  
“ me, making, as well as I could, some small altera-  
“ tions and needful additions, of which I have sent  
“ you a copy, as also a brief and rude draught of  
“ the injunctions; together with a copy of some or-  
“ ders, designed by my predecessor, concerning or-  
“ dinations, and some observations of Bishop FELL  
“ thereupon, that your Lordship may mark what  
“ you think most material to be taken out of them.  
“ And if your Lordship approve of the method pro-  
“ posed, I intreat you to give me your free thoughts  
“ upon every article in the injunctions, and what  
“ you would have added or altered either in them or  
“ their Majesties letter.

“ Your Lordship by Bishop FELL’s observations  
“ will perceive, that he doubted, whether it might  
“ be safe to meet and consult about such matters,  
“ and by our own authority to make any orders or  
“ agreement besides the law in any tittle, though  
“ never so fit. But I had also another reason, which  
“ moved me herein, that their Majesties concern-  
“ ment for religion and the church might appear to  
“ the nation.

“ I do not use to write so long a letter, and there-  
“ fore hope to be the easilier pardon’d. My humble  
“ service to your good lady, and to my worthy  
“ friend Mr. Secretary. I feel his absence, being  
“ almost ready to be starved for want of news.  
“ My two boys<sup>r</sup>, I thank God, are got safe and  
“ very easily over the small-pox. I have been six  
“ weeks in the country for my wife’s health, and am  
“ but newly returned. I pray God to have you in

X 3

“ his

“ His grandsons,

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“ his protection, and to send us a happy meeting,

“ I am, with great affection and respect,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s very faithful

“ friend and brother,

“ JO. CANT.”

He wrote another letter to the same purpose a few days after to Dr. STILLINGFLEET, Bishop of *Worcester*<sup>b</sup>, in which he inclosed a draught of their Majesties letter, and of the injunctions design’d, intreating the Bishop to give him his free thoughts upon them, and to suggest what he would have either alter’d or added in either of them. He observed likewise in this, as well as in the preceding letter, that one of his views in the method now proposed by him was, that their Majesties care and concernment for our religion might more manifestly appear to the general satisfaction of the nation; adding, that he had acquainted the Queen with the scheme, and shewn her the draught of the letter, which, she was pleased to say, she thought would do very well.

A few days after his Grace wrote another letter upon this affair to the Bishop of *Salisbury*.<sup>i</sup>

*Lambeth-House, September 10. 1694.*

MY LORD,

“ **T**HE letter, which I lately received from your  
 “ Lordship, I have imparted to her Majesty;  
 “ who is as desirous as yourself can be to have this  
 “ matter

<sup>b</sup> Communicated to me by the Right Reverend ISAAC Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, from the collection of Bishop STILLINGFLEET’s papers, in the possession of his grandson the Rev. Mr. EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, Rector of *Hartlebury* in *Worcestershire*, and Canon of *Worcester*.

<sup>i</sup> Communicated by the honourable Mr. Justice BURNET,

“ matter dispatch’d, but cannot think it fit to put  
“ forth any thing of this nature without first advising  
“ with the King, and having his consent and con-  
“ currence thereto, especially at this time, when his  
“ return hither within a little while may so probably  
“ be expected. Hereupon I moved it might be sent  
“ to him by the first opportunity; but her Ma-  
“ jesty thought, that he would put it off to his com-  
“ ing; or if he should immediately send over his  
“ consent, yet his coming being probably so near,  
“ it might be liable to some odd construction, as if  
“ the King did not much care to appear in it, and  
“ therefore it was purposely contriv’d to be done  
“ in his absence. Your Lordship sees, how her Ma-  
“ jesty’s great wisdom looks on every side of a  
“ thing; and therefore upon the whole matter the  
“ business must rest till the King’s return: And I  
“ see no great inconvenience in it, since, according  
“ to the method now pitch’d upon, the reason of  
“ delaying to the King’s coming will be visible to  
“ every body.

“ The alteration of the clause of encouragement  
“ to the Clergy, is, I think, much for the better;  
“ and, which is more, so doth the Queen; who  
“ also approves of the article concerning family-  
“ devotion.

“ I intreat you to give my humble service to  
“ your good Lady, and to Mr. Secretary, and to  
“ believe, that I am,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s faithful friend

“ and most affectionate brother,

“ JO. CANT.”

The execution of this important business of the  
royal injunctions being delay’d till the King’s return  
on the 9th of *November*, a total stop was put to

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them by the death of the Archbishop not many days after, and that of the Queen the month following, whose endeavours were united with his upon all such occasions; her Majesty, to whom the King wholly left the matters of the church, consulting chiefly with his Grace, whom she favoured and supported in a most particular manner. And she saw what need there was of it, for a party was soon form'd against him, who set themselves to censure every thing which he did. And it was a melancholy consideration, that tho' no Archbishop before him had ever applied himself more intirely, without partiality or bias, to all the concerns of the church and religion, and the Queen's heart was set on promoting them, yet such an evil spirit should seem to be let loose upon the Clergy. They complain'd of every thing that was done, if it was not in their own way; and the Archbishop bore the blame of all. And as he did not enter into any close correspondence, or the concerting measures, with the ministry, but lived much abstracted from them; they likewise endeavoured to depress him all they could. This made a considerable impression upon him, and he grew very uneasy in his great post\*.

The malice and party-rage, of which he had felt the effects before he was rais'd to the Archbishopric, broke out with full force upon his advancement, in all the forms of insult. One instance of which, not commonly known, deserves to be mention'd here. Soon after his promotion, while a Gentleman was with him, who came to pay his compliments upon it, a packet was brought in seal'd and directed to his Grace: upon opening of which there appear'd a mask inclos'd, but nothing written. The Archbishop without any signs of emotion threw it carelessly among his papers on the table; and on the Gentleman's expressing great surprise and indignation

at

\* BURNET'S history of his own time, vol. II. p. 117, 118.



at the affront, his Grace only smiled, and said, that this was a gentle rebuke, if compared with some others that lay there in black and white, pointing to the papers on the table<sup>1</sup>.

Nor could the series of ill treatment, which he received, ever provoke him to a temper of revenge ; being far from indulging himself in any of those liberties in speaking of others, which were to so immeasurable a degree made use of against himself<sup>m</sup>. And upon a bundle of libels found among his papers after his death, he put no other inscription than this, *These are libels, I pray God forgive the authors, I do.*<sup>n</sup> The calumnies spread against him, tho' the falsest, which malice could invent, joined with the envy that accompanies a high station, had indeed a greater operation than could have been imagined, considering how long he had liv'd on a public scene, and how well he was known. It seem'd a new and unusual thing, that a man, who in the course of above thirty years had done so much good, and so many services to so many persons, without ever once doing an ill office, or a hard thing to any one, and who had a sweetness and gentleness in him, that seem'd rather to lean to an excess, should yet meet with so much unkindness and injustice. But he bore all this with a submission to the will of God ; nor had it any effect on him, to change either his temper or maxims, tho' perhaps it might sink too much into him with relation to his health. He was so exactly true in all the representations of things or persons, which he laid before their Majesties, that he neither rais'd  
the

<sup>1</sup> Letter of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Archdeacon SHARP of November 7, 1751, who was inform'd of this fact by Dr. GREEN, Vicar of *St. Martin's*, and afterwards Bishop of *Ely*.

<sup>m</sup> BURNET's reflections, p. 89, 90.

<sup>n</sup> Dean SHERLOCK's sermon at the *Temple*, December 30, 1694.

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the character of his friends, nor sunk that of those, who deserv'd not so well of him, but offer'd every thing to them with that sincerity, which so well became him. His truth and candour were perceptible in almost every thing which he said or did; his looks and whole manner seeming to take away all suspicion concerning him. For he thought nothing in this world was worth much art or great management<sup>o</sup>.

He concurred with the Queen in engaging the Bishop of *Salisbury* to undertake his *Exposition of the thirty nine articles of the church of England*, which that indefatigable Prelate perform'd in less than the compass of a year, and then sent the manuscript of his excellent work, which was not publish'd till 1699, to the Archbishop, who having revis'd and alter'd it in several places, returned it with his judgment upon it in the following letter<sup>p</sup>:

*Lambeth-House, October 23d 1694.*

“ My Lord,

“ **I** Have with great pleasure and satisfaction read  
 “ over the great volume you sent me, and am  
 “ astonish'd to see so vast a work begun and finish-  
 “ ed in so short a time. In the article of the Tri-  
 “ nity you have said all, that I think can be said  
 “ upon so obscure and difficult an argument. The  
 “ Socinians have just now published an answer to us  
 “ all; but I have not had a sight of it. The nega-  
 “ tive articles against the church of *Rome* you have  
 “ very fully explained, and with great learning and  
 “ judgment. Concerning these you will meet with  
 “ no opposition amongst ourselves. The greatest  
 “ danger

<sup>o</sup> BURNET's funeral sermon, p. 26, 27.

<sup>p</sup> Life of Bishop BURNET, at the end of the 2d volume of his History of his own time, p. 789.

“ danger was to be apprehended from the points in  
 “ difference between the *Calvinists* and *Remonstrants*,  
 “ in which you have shewn not only great skill  
 “ and moderation, but great prudence in contenting  
 “ yourself to represent both sides impartially,  
 “ without any positive declaration of your own  
 “ judgment. The account given of *ATHANASI-*  
 “ *us's* creed seems to me no-wise satisfactory. I  
 “ wish we were well rid of it. I pray GOD long  
 “ to preserve your Lordship to do more such ser-  
 “ vices to the church. I am, My Lord,

“ Yours most affectionately,

“ JO. CANT.”

He did not long survive the writing of this letter, for on *Sunday* the 18th of *November* 1694, he was seiz'd with a sudden illness, while he was at the chapel in *Whitehall*. But though his countenance shew'd, that he was indispos'd, he thought it not decent to interrupt the service. The fit came indeed slowly on, but it seem'd to be fatal, and soon turn'd to a dead palsy. The oppression of his distemper was so great, that it became very uneasy for him to speak; but it appear'd, that his understanding was still clear, tho' others could not have the advantage of it<sup>a</sup>. He continued serene and calm, and in broken wordsaid, that he thank'd GOD, he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do, but to wait the will of heaven<sup>b</sup>. He was attended the two last nights of his illness by his friend Mr. NELSON, in whose arms he expir'd on the fifth day of it, *Thursday, November* 23d, at five in the afternoon<sup>c</sup>, in the sixty-fifth<sup>d</sup> year of his age,

The

<sup>a</sup> BURNET's funeral sermon, p. 33.

<sup>b</sup> BURNET, History of his own time, vol. II. p. 134.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. WHARTON's MS collections.

<sup>d</sup> His epitaph below says the sixty-fourth; but as he was born in

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The sorrow for his death was more universal than was ever known for a subject ; and when his funeral was appointed, there was a numerous train of coaches filled with persons of rank and condition, who came voluntarily to assist at that solemnity from *Lambeth*, to the church of *St. Laurence Jewry*, where his body was interr'd on the 30th of that month, and a monument afterwards erected to his memory, with the following inscription :

P. M.  
*Reverendissimi & sanctissimi Præsulis*  
 JOHANNIS TILLOTSON,  
*Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis,*  
*Concionatoris olim hæc in Ecclesiâ*  
*per Annos XXX celeberrimi,*  
*Qui obiit X<sup>o</sup> Kal. Dec. MDCLXXXIV,*  
*Ætatis suæ LXIII.*  
*Hoc posuit ELIZABETHA*  
*Conjux illius mæstissima.*

The town of *Hallifax* likewise, out of regard to a man, who did so much honour to their parish, put up this inscription in letters of Gold in the Church there: JOHANNIS TILLOTSON, *Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, natus Sowerbiæ, renatus Hallifaxiæ tertio Octobris 1630 ; denatus Lambethiæ 22 Novembris, A. D. 1694. Ætat. 65.*

His funeral sermon was preach'd by Dr. BURNET, Bishop of *Salisbury*, on 2 TIM. iv. 7. in the course of which he was interrupted by a short flow of sighs and tears, which forc'd their way, as was visible to the audience ; who accompanied it with a general groan<sup>u</sup>.

This

in the latter end of *September* or beginning of *October* 1630, and died *November* 22, 1694 ; he was near two months above sixty-four at his death.

<sup>u</sup> Mr. OLDMIZON, *History of England*, p. 95. who was present at that solemnity.



This sermon being soon after publish'd in 4to, had a very different effect upon Dr. HICKES, and gave occasion to his piece so often cited above, call'd *Some Discourses*, printed the year following. The acrimony of it, which is scarce to be match'd among the invectives of any age or language, was perhaps owing to private resentment, as well as to difference of opinion and party; for it is confess'd by the Doctor's friends<sup>w</sup>, that he was persuaded, that both Dr. TILLOTSON and Dr. BURNET had so far prejudic'd SAVILE Earl of *Halifax* against him, that his Lordship was the only one of the commissioners for disposal of ecclesiastical preferments, who refus'd to join in the recommendation of him to King CHARLES II. for the Deanry of *Worcester*, which however was bestowed upon him in *August* 1683. Bishop BURNET gave a strong and clear answer to these *Discourses* of Dr. HICKES in 1696 in his *Reflections* upon them; to which the Doctor publish'd no reply, tho' Mr. HILKIAH BEDFORD, the reputed author, and real editor of *Hereditary right asserted*<sup>x</sup>, in his *preface* to the Doctor's piece<sup>y</sup> in defence of a story, which few critics now would undertake to maintain, that of the *Theban legion*, affirms, that he wrote one, but did not print it, as Mr. BEDFORD says, *for obvious reasons*. But it is not probable, that these *obvious reasons* would have restrained so bold a writer as Dr. HICKES, who seem'd in general to use his pen with a freedom not controul'd by any apprehensions of danger, and whose former pamphlet could scarce be exceeded in that point, from vindicating himself, or at least his friends from justifying his

<sup>w</sup> See his *Life* in the General Dictionary historical and critical, vol. VI.

<sup>x</sup> The real author of this book was Mr. HARBIN, a Non-juring Clergyman; but the Preface was written by Mr. THEOPHILUS DOWNES, once Fellow of *Balioi College* in *Oxford*.

<sup>y</sup> Written in 1687, and printed in 1714 in 8vo.

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his memory, if any thing satisfactory could have been return'd to the many charges of misrepresentation and falshood imputed to him by the Bishop of *Salisbury*.

The calumny of the Archbishop's having inserted in the College-Grace thanks for the defeat at *Worcester*, was, many years after the first publication of it by Dr. HICKES, reviv'd by Mr. BEVIL HIGGONS, with other invectives against the memory of the deceas'd Primate<sup>z</sup>. For tho' he allows him to have, *by the study of the Antients and the Classic Authors, form'd a style, and acquir'd a just way of thinking, with a simplicity and easiness of expression, before his time unknown in England, which gave him the Character of an excellent Preacher*; yet he asserts, that *it is very well known, that he wanted that sort of learning so absolutely necessary to his profession, as to be a Qualification for a Country Curate*. He objects likewise his alliance with Cromwell, which was only the marriage of his niece several years after the Protector's death, *with whose party, Mr. HIGGONS adds, he maintained a firm and settled friendship to his dying day*; and charges him with *warping to some heterodox opinions condemn'd in all ages, and which gave a handle to some persons to charge him with Socinianism*; but, above all, *his known disaffection to the discipline and morals of the Church of England, made him a very popular favourite with all her enemies, the protestant dissenters of every denomination*. And in answer to what Bishop BURNET had said, that the Archbishop had brought the Citizens of *London* from their dislike to the Church of *England*, Mr. HIGGONS remarks, that it was no wonder, that “ the  
“ party disaffected to the government in church and  
“ state should be more willing to follow a pastor,  
“ who had preach'd to them before in that assembly,  
“ which

<sup>z</sup> Historical and critical remarks on Bishop BURNET's History of his own time, p. 125, 126. 2d Edit. London, 1727, 8vo.

“ which we now call a Conventicle, and who was  
“ of the same principles with those trumpeters of  
“ sedition, who had led them into the great rebel-  
“ lion against CHARLES I.” Mr. HIGGONS’s book,  
which was first publish’d in *November 1724*, was  
animadverted upon in two papers in the *London Jour-  
nal* of the 30th of *January* and 6th of *February* fol-  
lowing, sign’d *Britannicus*, who in particular de-  
fends the Archbishop from the gross abuses just men-  
tion’d; especially the charge of interpolating the  
College grace, which that writer supposes to have been  
implicitly taken from an old libel of Dr. HICKES,  
fully answer’d by Bp. BURNET in 1696 without any  
reply. Mr. HIGGONS, in the *Postscript* to the second  
edition of his *Remarks*\*, rejoin’d, that he had that  
account at *Cambridge* above eight or nine years be-  
fore Dr. HICKES’s book appeared; it being told  
him in a visit which he happen’d to make in the same  
chambers, or at least in the same place with those,  
where the Archbishop had resided, when he was of  
*Clare-Hall*: That the tradition was universal, and  
pass’d uncontradicted in the University, at which  
time there were several persons old enough to have  
remember’d this incident, and who wanted not in-  
clination to have done justice to Dr. TILLOTSON, by  
disproving this slander, if there had been any room  
to have contradicted the fact: That as he never  
thought fit to justify himself against this assertion,  
during his own life, by any solemn and public denial  
of the fact, it was to be presum’d, that he had too  
much conscience to tell a positive untruth, and too  
much candour to disown an indiscretion of his  
younger years, of which, it is possible, that he  
might have been ashamed and repented. That  
what Bishop BURNET said in his justification two  
years after his death, will bear very little weight with  
all

\* P. 313, 314.

all who knew him. That the argument, that Dr. HICKES never thought fit to rejoin and answer the Bishop, will fall to the ground, when we consider the circumstances of the times, in which Dr. HICKES wrote, who had averr'd the story in writing, and could not bring any further testimony but the personal evidence of those who knew this matter, and who must be supposed too cautious to expose themselves by appearing in such a cause, where the current of the times was wholly against them, especially if they expected any preferment in that Government. That all the proofs brought by Bishop BURNET are the testimonies of some persons, who lived at that time, and pretend not to have heard this story. That this is at best but a negative argument, and will be very unconvulsive, as to the proof or disproof in matter of fact; and that for those gentlemen to pretend, that they did not remember the story so many years after, was a very easy compliment to the memory of the Archbishop. That it is what good-natur'd men, on the like occasion, without any breach of morality, do every day, through tenderness of hurting the reputation of another; but that if the same persons had been examin'd in a court of justice on this head, it is highly probable, that the awe and solemnity of an oath might have awaken'd and refresh'd their memories. But these exceptions cannot in the least affect the testimonies, produc'd in the beginning of this Life, of those of the Archbishop's own college, who could not but have known the fact, if true, and whose veracity is above suspicion. Nor can any regard be paid to the authority of so prejudiced and passionate a writer as Mr. HIGGONS, whose zeal against the Revolution Government led him into the most indefensible measures of overturning it, and engag'd him with the plotters for the assassination of



King WILLIAM in *February* 169<sup>5</sup><sup>b</sup>, and who is reported to have died in the Romish Communion.

But whatever attempts have been or may be made upon the memory of Archbishop TILLOTSON, his character may be trusted to posterity upon the facts related of him from indisputable authority, and the testimony of his own writings both private and public.

His life was indeed not only free from blemishes, but exemplary in all parts of it. In his domestic relations, friendships, and the whole commerce of business, it was easy and humble, frank and open, tender-hearted and bountiful<sup>c</sup> to such an extent, that, while he was in a private station, he laid aside two tenths of his income for charitable uses<sup>d</sup>. He despis'd wealth, but as it furnish'd him for charity, in which he was judicious as well as liberal<sup>e</sup>. And tho' he had enjoy'd considerable preferments many years before he was rais'd to the Archbishopric, and fill'd that post above three years and a half, yet he did not improve his fortune from two successive Deanries, or from that See, out of which his predecessor SANCROFT had rais'd an estate<sup>f</sup>. An instance of his moderation in this respect, while he was Dean of *St. Paul's*, has been communicated to me by his worthy successor in that dignity, THOMAS Lord Bishop of *Oxford*. The only lease, which he executed separately, as Dean of that Cathedral, was one of a small tenement in *Creed-lane*, on the 9th of *February* 1690. And though two others, each of a few acres of ground near *London*, were actually drawn and enter'd in the register-book, yet he left them unexecuted, because he was soon to be preferr'd to the Archbishopric.

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<sup>b</sup> He was one of the Conspirators nam'd in the Proclamation of *February* 23d, 169<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 28.

<sup>d</sup> LE NEVE, p. 234.

<sup>e</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 29.

<sup>f</sup> BURNET, vol. II. p. 136.

A decent but grave chearfulness made his conversation as lively and agreeable, as it was useful and instructing. He was ever in good humour, always the same, both accessible and affable. He heard every thing patiently, and was not apt either to mistake or to suspect; his own great candour disposing him to put the best construction, and to judge the most favourably of all persons and things. He was never imperious or assuming; and tho' he had a superior judgment to most men, yet he never dictated to others. And as no man had observed human nature more carefully, or could judge better, so none made larger allowances for the frailties of mankind, than he did <sup>b</sup>.

The vivacity of his wit is evident under the restraints, which his discourses from the pulpit exacted from him, and those, which he impos'd upon himself in his few controversial writings; and Sir RICHARD STEELE, an indisputable judge in that kind, used to say, that he had a much greater share of it, than most of those, whose character was denominated from it. But his temper and principles would not suffer him to exercise it in satire, or even in self-defence; so that few repartees of his are deliver'd down. Among these was one in return to Sir JOHN TREVOR, who was made Master of the rolls by King JAMES, with whom he was in high favour, and expell'd for bribery by the house of Commons, while he was Speaker of it. This gentleman, who, with a very obnoxious character, affected very high principles in church and state, passing by the Archbishop in the house of Lords soon after his promotion, said in a tone loud enough to be heard by his Grace, "I hate a fanatic in lawn sleeves;" to which the Archbishop answered in a lower voice, "And I hate a knave in any sleeves." This story is related likewise, with the difference of some

<sup>b</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 28.

some circumstances, that Sir JOHN TREVOR's words were carried to his Grace by Dr. MANNINGHAM, then Chaplain at the Rolls, and afterwards Bishop of *Cbichester*, upon Sir JOHN's bidding him deliver them to the Archbishop, whom the Doctor was going to visit, though without any imagination, that the Doctor would be the bearer of such a message; to which he was too faithful, and even brought back his Grace's reply to the Master of the Rolls. Another instance of this talent was upon occasion of Dr. SOUTH's *Animadversions* on Dr. SHERLOCK's *Vindication of the Trinity* in 1693. Dr. SOUTH being desirous to know the Archbishop's opinion of his performance, wherein he had occasionally reflected upon him for his *signal and peculiar encomium*, as he calls it<sup>c</sup>, of the reasoning abilities of the Socinians, procured a friend of his to draw it from his grace, who gave it to this effect, that the Doctor *wrote like a man, but bit like a dog*. This being reported to the Doctor, he answer'd, "that he had rather bite like a dog, than fawn like one." To which the Archbishop replied, "that for his own part, he should chuse to be a *spaniel* rather than a *cur*."

He lived in a due neglect of his person, and contempt of pleasure, but never affected pompous severities<sup>d</sup>.

In his function, he was not only a constant preacher, but likewise diligent in all the other parts of his duty; for though he had no cure of souls, yet few, who had, laboured so painfully as he did, in visiting the sick, in comforting the afflicted, and in settling such, as were either wavering in their opinions, or troubled in mind<sup>e</sup>.

His affability and candour, as well as abilities in his profession, made him frequently consulted in points relating both to practice and opinion. Among his letters upon these occasions I have met with the

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follow-

<sup>c</sup> P. 358.

<sup>d</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 29.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 28, 29.

following, in answer to two questions concerning the Alienation of Tythes, propos'd to him by a gentleman of *Glocestershire*.

April 27. 1689.

“ Honour'd Sir,

“ **T**O the two questions propos'd by you, I  
 “ answer : To the first concerning the *Jus*  
 “ *Divinum* of the particular way of maintenance of  
 “ ministers now under the Gospel by Tythes, I do  
 “ not see any argument either in Bishop *Andrews* \*,  
 “ or Dr. COMBER †, that comes up to the proof  
 “ of it. That, which is called Bishop *Usher's* Body  
 “ of Divinity §, was written by him in his younger  
 “ years, and unskilfully compiled by some other  
 “ hand.

“ The second question hath no necessary depen-  
 “ dence upon the first. For whether Tythes be  
 “ *jure divino*, or not, yet supposing an honourable  
 “ maintenance in general of the ministers of the  
 “ Gospel to be of divine right, which, I think, is  
 “ allowed by all, that own a Gospel ministry, the  
 “ alienating of any maintenance given by private  
 “ persons, or settled by law to that purpose, except  
 “ in case of evident necessity for the preservation of  
 “ the public, and without compensation made for  
 “ it, is as much sacrilege, as the alienation of tythes,  
 “ supposing that they were of divine right and  
 “ appointment. In case of public necessity, even  
 “ the vessels, that were consecrated to the use of the  
 “ temple,

\* On the ten Commandments, Comm. 4. Ch. 11. Edit. 1650. and *Theologica determinatio habita in publicâ Scholâ Theologicâ Cantabrigiæ de Decimis*, printed among his *Opuscula quædam posthuma* at London 1629 in 4to, p. 141—158.

† *History of Tythes*, in two parts. §. It was publish'd without his knowledge, and gave him great concern; and he complain'd of it in a letter to Mr. JOHN DOWNHAM the Editor. See Dr. THOMAS SMITH's *Life of the Archbishop USHER*, p. 123. *Vitæ quorundam eruditissimorum & illustrum Virorum*. Edit. Lond. 1707 in 4to.



“ temple, were alienated by good kings, and, for  
“ any thing I know to the contrary, without sin.  
“ I do not think the first alienation of tythes in  
“ *England* to have been without great fault. But  
“ since the thing is long since done, and they are  
“ now several ages passed from hand to hand, those,  
“ who were no ways accessary to the first injury,  
“ may as lawfully purchase and hold them upon a  
“ valuable consideration, as we, who now possess  
“ *England*, may do the lands, which certainly be-  
“ longed to the antient *Britons*, or those, which  
“ are held by the unjust title of the Conqueror.  
“ There is only this difference in the case, that we  
“ certainly knew to whom Tythes did originally  
“ belong; and he, that can spare them from his  
“ family, shall do very well and piously to restore  
“ them to the first use. He, that cannot, shall do  
“ very well: and I know not how to excuse him,  
“ if he be able to secure the main end, for which  
“ they were first given, by a competent mainte-  
“ nance, and honourable, if the circumstances of  
“ his condition will allow it.

“ I am, Sir, yours,

J. TILLOTSON.

His love for the real philosophy of nature, and his conviction, that the study of it is the most solid support of religion, induced him, not many years after the establishment of the Royal Society, to desire to be admitted into that assembly of the greatest men of the age; into which he was accordingly elected on the 25th of *January* 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>f</sup>, having been proposed on the 18th as a candidate by Dr. SETH WARD Bishop of *Salisbury*<sup>g</sup>; and he was admitted a member on the 14th of *March*<sup>h</sup>.

Y.3

He

<sup>f</sup> Journal book of the Royal Society, vol. IV. p. 227.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 225.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 238.

He had a great compass in learning. What he knew, he had so perfectly digested, that he was truly master of it. But the largeness of his genius, and the correctness of his judgment, carried him much farther, than the leisure, that he had enjoy'd for study, seem'd to enable him to go; for he could proceed great lengths upon general hints<sup>1</sup>.

He always endeavour'd to maintain the Christian doctrine in its original purity. Even in his younger years, when he had a great liveliness of thought and extent of imagination, he avoid'd the disturbing the peace of the church with particular opinions, or an angry opposition about more indifferent or doubtful matters. He liv'd indeed in great friendship with men, who differ'd from him. He thought, that the surest way to bring them off from their mistakes, was by gaining upon their hearts and affections. And in an age of such remarkable dissoluteness, as that in which he liv'd, he judg'd, that the best method to put a stop to the growing impiety, was first to establish the principles of natural religion, and from that to advance to the proof of Christianity and of the Scriptures, which being once solidly done would soon settle all other things. He was therefore in great doubt, whether the surest means to persuade the world to the belief of the sublime truths, that are contained in the Scriptures, concerning God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and concerning the person of Christ, was to enter much into the discussing of those mysteries. He fear'd, that an indiscreet insisting and descanting upon those points might do more hurt than good; and thought, that the maintaining those doctrines, as they are propos'd in the Scriptures, without entering too much into explanations or controversies, would be the most effectual way to preserve the reverence, that was due to them, and to

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<sup>1</sup> Funeral sermon, p. 29.

fix them in mens belief. But when he was desired by some, and provoked by others, and saw just occasions moving him to it, he asserted those great mysteries with that strength and clearness, which was his peculiar talent.

He thought, that the less mens consciences were entangled, and the less the communion of the church was clogg'd with disputable opinions or practices, the world would be the happier, consciences the freer, and the church the quieter. The Scriptures were the rule of his faith, and the chief subject of all his meditations. He judg'd, that the great design of Christianity was the reforming mens natures, and governing their actions, the restraining their appetites and passions, the softening their tempers, and sweetening their humours, and the raising their minds above the interests and follies of this present world to the hope and pursuit of endless blessedness; and he considered the whole Christian doctrine as a system of principles all tending to this. He look'd on mens contending about lesser matters, or about subtilties relating to those that are greater, as one of the chief practices of the powers of darkness to defeat the true ends, for which the Son of God came into the world; and that they led men into much dry and angry work, who, while they were hot in the making parties, and settling opinions, became so much the slacker in those great duties, which were chiefly design'd by the Christian doctrine<sup>k</sup>.

The moderation both of his temper and principles very early occasioned him, as well as Mr. CHILLINGWORTH, and others of the best and greatest men of their times, to be rank'd among those Divines, who were stigmatized with the name of *Latitudinarians* by persons of very opposite characters. In vindication of them from the usual re-

proaches

Y 4

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 29—32.

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proaches annexed to that title, an anonymous author had published at *London* in 4to, as early as *June 1662* *A brief account of the new set of Latitudemen; together with some reflections upon the new philosophy.* By S. P. of *Cambridge*, in answer to a letter from his friend at *Oxford*. And he was seconded by the pious and rational Mr. EDWARD FOWLER, then Rector of *Northill* in *Bedfordshire*, and afterwards Bishop of *Glocester*, in his first work in 1670<sup>1</sup>, intitled, *The principles and practices of certain moderate Divines of the church of England, (greatly misunderstood) truly represented and defended.* In this book he complains<sup>m</sup>, that this term of reproach, this word, as he calls it, of a foot and a half long, *Latitudinarian*, was frequently thrown out at that time not only in conversation, but from the pulpit, and that "it accompanied good store of other bombasts, and little witticisms, in seasoning not long ago the stately *Oxonian* theatre". Which passage evidently refers to the speech of Dr. SOUTH, then orator of the university of *Oxford*, in which he treated not only the new philosophy and the Royal Society, but likewise moderation, comprehension, and other topics of that kind, with his usual virulence and buffoonry, so justly complain'd of by Dr. WALLIS, in a letter to Mr. BOYLE<sup>o</sup>, as unsuitable to a learned body on so solemn an occasion.

His gentleness towards the Dissenters was attended with the consequence intended by him of reconciling many of them to the communion of the established church, and almost all of them to a greater esteem of it, than they had before entertain'd. His manner of reasoning with them on the subjects in dispute will appear from the following letter<sup>p</sup>, written

<sup>1</sup> Printed at *London* in 8vo, and reprinted there in 1671.

<sup>m</sup> P. 9, 10.

<sup>n</sup> It was dedicated in the beginning of

*July 1669.*

<sup>o</sup> Dated at *Oxford*, *July 17, 1669.* See

BOYLE's works, vol. V. p. 514.

<sup>p</sup> Communicated to me by the reverend and learned Dr. LYTLETON, Dean of *Exeter*.



ten to a Lady, whose name I have not been able to recover.

*February 17th, 1681.*

“ Honoured Madam,

“ **I** Had return’d an answer to your letter sooner,  
“ but that I did not know how to direct it, till  
“ I met with Mr. LOBB, who told me your lodg-  
“ ings.

“ For answer to the question, in which your La-  
“ dyship desires to be resolv’d; though no man  
“ can act contrary to the persuasion of his mind,  
“ without violence to his conscience, which is the  
“ immediate guide and director of our actions; yet  
“ if our conscience be misled, either by a heady and  
“ rash zeal, or some unreasonable prejudice, or for  
“ want of calm and impartial consideration of the  
“ reasons on both sides, or of a due regard in  
“ doubtful matters to the judgment of those guides,  
“ whom God hath set over us, and who are likely to  
“ judge better of these things than we can; or from  
“ a neglect of any other means of rightly inform-  
“ ing our consciences; in all these, and the like  
“ cases, the mistake of our conscience doth not so  
“ justify our actions, but that the party, that fol-  
“ lowed his conscience, may be very culpable, and  
“ guilty before God of a great sin. *St. Paul*  
“ reckons himself among the greatest of sinners,  
“ for what he did according to his conscience, and  
“ the firm persuasion of his own mind, in perse-  
“ cuting the church of God; for he tells us, that  
“ he verily thought, he ought to do all those things,  
“ which he did against the name of *JESUS of Na-*  
“ *zareth*. I do not parallel the cases; but this  
“ principle holds in proportion in lesser matters,  
“ that one may be faulty, and yet act according to  
“ his conscience; which ought to make us very  
“ careful,

“ careful, to have our consciences rightly inform’d  
 “ concerning what is our duty or our sin.

“ As to the particular case concerning the gesture  
 “ of receiving the sacrament, give me leave to use  
 “ that necessary freedom, as to tell you, that I do  
 “ not think your conscience is truly inform’d, ei-  
 “ ther concerning the nature of the thing, or the  
 “ consequences of it. If the gesture be indif-  
 “ ferent, as I think it is, and as it was thought  
 “ to be by the whole christian church, for aught I  
 “ can find, either by their writings or practice, for  
 “ many ages, which is a very strong presumption  
 “ of the indifferency of it; then can there be no  
 “ well grounded persuasion of the unlawfulness of  
 “ any gesture, that is in use in the church, where  
 “ we live; especially if it be enjoined by authority.  
 “ If it be alledged, that the gesture, in which our  
 “ Saviour celebrated it, is necessary to be followed  
 “ by us; the reason must be, either because we are  
 “ punctually to observe and keep to all the circum-  
 “ stances, us’d by our Saviour, in the first institu-  
 “ tion of this sacrament; and then it will be neces-  
 “ sary, for aught I can see, to receive it in the very  
 “ gesture us’d by our Saviour, after supper, in an  
 “ upper room, not above the number of twelve be-  
 “ sides him that administers, and only men, and  
 “ not women. For if the bare example of our  
 “ Saviour make it necessary to us to do the like,  
 “ then every circumstance observ’d by him will be-  
 “ come equally necessary to us. But this, I think,  
 “ is nobody’s opinion, and therefore our Saviour’s  
 “ bare example is of no force in this matter. Or  
 “ else, the reason must be, because the gesture,  
 “ us’d by our Saviour, is in its own nature so pro-  
 “ per and suitable to the sacrament, as may seem to  
 “ make it necessary; and this is that, which, I  
 “ think, you insist upon. But we must take heed  
 “ of concluding, that God hath commanded or

“ forbidden a thing, because we think it very suit-  
 “ able, or unsuitable. By this argument indeed  
 “ the Papists endeavour to prove an infallible judge  
 “ of controversies, and a great many other things;  
 “ but 'tis a very slippery and uncertain argument.  
 “ And to make the whole action of the sacrament,  
 “ with all the circumstances of it, to be obligatory to  
 “ us, not only the administration of the sacrament  
 “ in the elements of bread and wine must be ex-  
 “ pressly commanded, but every circumstance like-  
 “ wise must be expressly enjoined. Otherwise the  
 “ argument from an imaginable suitability will be  
 “ of no manner of force; for many things may  
 “ be suitable enough, which are by no means ne-  
 “ cessary. Besides that I cannot see, but that this  
 “ way of arguing is rather of greater force as to the  
 “ receiving it after supper, since this is expressly  
 “ mentioned by *St. Paul*, *1 Cor. xi.* where he pro-  
 “ fesseth to declare the institution just as he receiv'd  
 “ it, but says not a word of the gesture. And,  
 “ *Acts xx.* we find, that the Disciples met toge-  
 “ ther in the evening to break bread, and in an  
 “ upper chamber; so that it seems they did ob-  
 “ serve the circumstances both of time and place,  
 “ in which our Saviour celebrated it. And the cir-  
 “ cumstance of time was so constantly observ'd by  
 “ the Apostles, as to give this sacrament the name  
 “ of the LORD's Supper, (*1 Cor. xi. 20.*) which  
 “ hath ever since continued in the christian church,  
 “ though the time hath been altered from evening  
 “ to morning. And now if suitability or unsuit-  
 “ ableness be such a mighty argument, it seems to  
 “ me every whit as unsuitable to celebrate a supper  
 “ in the morning, as to communicate at a feast in  
 “ any other than the common table-gesture.

“ But then the consequence of the thing is much  
 “ worse; because you must either, during this er-  
 “ roneous persuasion (as I think) of your mind,

“ not

“ not receive the sacrament at all, which is to neglect a great and plain institution of the christian religion; or you must break the peace, and separate from the communion of the church, upon such a reason, as will produce separation without end: for if every little doubt and scruple be ground sufficient to warrant a separation, the peace and unity of the church will be perpetually in danger. I have been credibly inform’d, that in the late times there was an Anabaptist church in *London*, that in a short space subdivided into thirty several churches, upon different opinions about the circumstances of administering the two sacraments; and every party so stiffly insisted upon that circumstance, which they thought necessary, that they could not in conscience communicate with one another.

“ And now, Madam, upon the whole matter I beseech you seriously to consider these few things: 1<sup>st</sup>, That one may sin greatly in following the persuasion of an erring conscience. 2<sup>dly</sup>, That it is only in things, wherein we are perfectly at liberty, that a doubting conscience binds us from acting contrary to it; which is the case *St. Paul* was speaking of in the text you cite; *be, that doubteth, is damned, if he eat*. But where there is any obligation to the thing (for instance, the command of lawful authority) this ought to overrule the doubt: for in this case it is not enough, that I doubt, whether the thing commanded be lawful, but I must be clearly satisfied, that it is unlawful; otherwise I sin in disobeying the commands of lawful authority. 3<sup>dly</sup>, That it is not every doubt or scruple, that binds the conscience, but grounded upon such reasons, as to prudent and considerate persons may minister great and just cause of doubt; for a scruple and fear, that hath no probable reason to justify it and bear it out,



" ought to be rejected; and upon the advice of  
 " pious and prudent persons one may safely act  
 " contrary to such a doubting and scrupulous con-  
 " science; especially when the ground of the doubt  
 " is such, as by the generality of Christians for  
 " many ages was never thought to be of any  
 " weight. *4thly*, That it falls out somewhat un-  
 " happily, that the doubts and scruples of well-  
 " minded people are generally on the wrong side,  
 " against the peace of the church, and obedience to  
 " authority; and that for one, that doubts, whe-  
 " ther they can with a good conscience separate  
 " from the communion of a church, whose terms  
 " are as easy, as of any christian church in the  
 " world, there are hundreds, that upon so many  
 " different and inconsistent scruples make a doubt,  
 " whether with a good conscience they can continue  
 " in it. It is worthy our serious consideration,  
 " whence this should proceed, when it is so very  
 " plain, that there is scarce any thing more strictly  
 " charg'd upon Christians than to endeavour the  
 " peace and unity of the church. *5thly*, That if  
 " you be not undoubtedly in the right in this mat-  
 " ter, you are certainly guilty of a great sin in for-  
 " saking the communion of our church upon this  
 " account. And *lastly*, That the religion, which  
 " will recommend us to God, doth not consist in  
 " niceties and scruples; and that if we would more  
 " attend to the great end and design of this sacra-  
 " ment, which is to engage us to be really good,  
 " we should neither have list nor leisure to contend  
 " about these little things; and but that I believe  
 " you are very sincere in the proposing of this  
 " doubt, I could not have obtain'd of myself to  
 " spend so much time about a matter, which I  
 " think to be of so little moment. And I am verily  
 " persuaded, that our blessed LORD did for this  
 " very reason make so few positive laws in the  
 " christian

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“ christian religion, hardly any besides the two sacraments, and did also leave the circumstances of these free and indifferent, that we might not be hindered from minding the weightier duties of religion by contending about circumstances and trifles ; but in all things, as becomes persons of humble and peaceable spirits, might be ready to comply with the general usage and custom of the church, in which we live, and the rules and injunctions of those, who have authority to command us ; which I am sure is a greater duty, than many, otherwise very good people, seem to be sensible of. I heartily pray God to direct and satisfy you in this doubt. I am, Madam,

“ Your most faithful friend and servant,

“ J. TILLOTSON.”

It has indeed been affirm'd, that he having frankly own'd in a sermon<sup>9</sup>, that the Dissenters had some plausible objections against the common-prayer, and that this occasioning Archbp. SANCROFT to send for him to reprimand him, he justified his assertion; and being ask'd what parts of the Common-prayer he meant, he instanc'd in the burial-office ; upon which his Grace confess'd to him, that he was so little satisfied himself with that office, that for that very reason he had never taken a cure of souls. Mr. HOADLY, in his *defence* of the *Reasonableness of conformity*, justly question'd the truth of this story ; and there is undoubtedly a mistake in one important circumstance of it ; for it appears by an authentic and original certificate, that Archbishop SANCROFT had

<sup>9</sup> See Dr. CALAMY's *Life of Mr. BAXTER*, p. 226. 2d Edit. The sermon was probably that preach'd before the gentlemen and others born within the county of *York* on the 3d of *December* 1678, in which he acknowledges *in some very few things the plausible exceptions of those, who differ from us.*

had been Rector of *Houghton-in-the-Spring* in the County of *Durham*, to which he was collated on the 7th of *December* 1661, upon the resignation of Dr. JOHN BARWICK, afterwards Dean of *St. Paul's*, and resign'd it about *December* 1664<sup>1</sup>, when himself was install'd in that Deanry.

The reasonableness of his doctrines, and that goodness and generosity of heart, which shone through all his writings as well as every part of his conduct, have drawn a respect towards his memory from those, who were the least affected to religion in general, or Christianity in particular. Mr. COLLINS has introduced him with great respect into the most exceptionable of his own works<sup>a</sup>, declaring, that *all English free-thinkers will own him as their head*, and that *even the enemies of free-thinking will allow him to be a proper instance of the purpose of his discourse upon it*: That his Grace's *learning and good sense are disputed by none*: And that his *sermons* “tend to the promoting of true religion and virtue” (in the practice whereof the peace and happiness of society consist) and free-thinking, and greatly exceed the idea, which he used to give of the goodness of a sermon by frequently repeating the words of a witty man, that *it was a good sermon, which had no hurt in it*. In short, that his works were formed for the improvement of understanding and morality.” But this eloge from so suspected a writer gave occasion to one of the ablest of his answerers<sup>b</sup>, among other *queries* propos'd to the authors (for he supposes more than one) of the

*Discourse*

<sup>1</sup> WALKER's sufferings of the Clergy, part II. p. 144. b. marg. and LE NEVE, p. 198.

<sup>a</sup> Discourse of free-thinking, p. 171. Edit. 1713.

<sup>b</sup> Queries recommended to the authors of the late *Discourse of free-thinking*. By a Christian, p. 22, 23. Edit. London 1713. This excellent piece, publish'd at first without the author's name, is since known to be the performance of the present Lord Bishop of Winchester.

*Discourse of free-thinking*, to ask, whether they could ever make reparation for the injury done to the memory of the great and good Archbishop, by putting him into the same list with EPICURUS and Mr. HOBBS, against both whom he has express'd himself with so particular a severity in some parts of his works, and by thus doing the work of his worst and bitterest enemies? Whether his Grace's example had not better been imitated, than his memory thus blackened, and the abuses of religion charged only upon the abusers, and not upon religion itself? Whether his zeal against Atheism and infidelity might not have been mentioned, as well as his zeal against spiritual tyranny and antichristian cruelty? Whether the injury done by these authors to his great name was not already apparent, when a conscientious author had already taken an handle from them to misrepresent him in the grossest manner, contrary to the whole tenor of that sermon, in which he speaks of the mischiefs of Popish zeal, and contrary to his express declarations concerning the Christian religion, which he in the same sermon vindicates from the least shadow of guilt upon that account? The writer of the *queries* concludes with remarking, that as it was to the purpose of the authors of the *Discourse of free-thinking*, to rank this good man in such a company; so it was to the purpose of his Popish and other furious enemies, that he, who could not enter into their blind and unchristian measures, should pass for an Atheist and an infidel: So mutually do Atheism and Popery assist each other!

The difference between his principles and the rigid ones of CALVIN has strongly prejudic'd the zealous for the latter against his writings; and their prejudices have been adopted by some late pretenders to an exalted and supernatural piety. Dr. JOHN EDWARDS, the declar'd enemy of Mr. LOCKE, and the



the reviver of *Calvinism* in the church of *England*, after the gradual extinction of it there, attacked the Archbishop's works in his *Preacher*<sup>s</sup>, intirely omitting them in his catalogue of books, which he recommends to young students. However he acknowledges<sup>t</sup>, that his Grace " gives a very natural " description of the moral virtues, and commends " and sets them off with a good grace. His ex- " hortations to, and reasonings about practical du- " ties, are very persuasive and penetrating; for he " performs this part with so smooth and even a " style, and with so popular an air, that he mar- " vellously insinuates into the minds of all his " hearers and readers." But his reflections were answer'd by Mr. ROBERT LIGHTFOOT, B. D. and Rector of Odel in *Bedfordshire*, in his *Remarks upon some passages in Dr. EDWARDS's Preacher*, printed in 1709, and in another piece, publish'd the year following under the title of *Dr. EDWARDS's Vindication considered*. Dr. HICKES<sup>u</sup> has indeed ventured to hope, that his Grace's pattern of preaching *would neither be long nor much followed*; and reproaches<sup>w</sup> him with having read but few of the Fathers, which he thinks would have rendered him a *much surer guide, as well as a more learned and sound Di- vine*.

But tho' some few may differ from the general and impartial opinion with regard to his sentiments in the more disputable points, yet his abilities as a writer will meet with little contest while a true taste subsists among us. Mr. DRYDEN frequently own'd with pleasure, that if he had any talent for *English* prose, which must be allow'd to have been a great one, it was owing to his having often read his Grace's writings.

<sup>s</sup> The first volume of which was publish'd in 1705, the second in 1706, and the third in 1709.

<sup>t</sup> Vol. I. p. 65.

<sup>u</sup> Some discourses, p. 51.

<sup>w</sup> P. 64.

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writings \*. And Dr. SWIFT, whose judgment was not usually bias'd by excess of civility, vouchsafes the Archbishop the title of *excellent* †; an epithet, given him likewise by Mr. DODWELL, when he appeal'd to him in his controversy, concerning schism, with Mr. BAXTER ‡. Dr. HENRY FELTON describes him § as “all over natural and easy in the  
 “most unconstrain'd and freest elegance of words.  
 “His course both in his reasoning and his style, like  
 “a gentle and even current, is clear and deep, and  
 “calm and strong. His language is so pure, no  
 “water can be more. It floweth with so free un-  
 “interrupted a stream, that it never stoppeth the  
 “reader or itself. Every word possesseth its pro-  
 “per place. We meet no hard, unusual, mean,  
 “far-fetched, or over-strained expression. His  
 “diction is not in the naked terms of the things he  
 “speaks of, but rather metaphorical; yet so easily  
 “are his metaphors transferred, that you would  
 “not say they intrude into another's place, but  
 “that they step into their own.” Mr. BLACKWALL not only styles him *eloquent* ¶, but in his Essay on the nature and use of those emphatical and beautiful figures, which give strength and ornament to writing, frequently takes his examples of these figures from his Grace's works. Mr. ADDISON consider'd his writings as the chief standard of our language, and accordingly mark'd the particular phrases in the sermons publish'd during his Grace's life-time, as  
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\* Mr. CONGREVE's dedication of Mr. DRYDEN's dramatic works to the Duke of Newcastle, *Edit.* London 1717.

† Letter to a young gentleman lately enter'd into holy orders, dated January 9th 1722.

‡ DODWELL's defence of his book of schism against Mr. BAXTER, p. 5. *Edit.* 1681 in 8vo.

§ Dissertation on reading the Classics, and forming a just style, p. 181, 182. 4th *Edit.* 1730.

¶ Introduction to the classics, Part II. ch. 2. p. 162. 5th *Edit.*

the ground-work of an *English* dictionary, projected by that elegant writer, when he was out of all public employment after the change of the ministry in the reign of Queen ANNE. A late author †, who had accurately studied the harmony, variety, and power of numbers, both in prose and verse, gives the Archbishop the character of *one of the smoothest and most unaffected of our writers*; and remarks upon his style, that he appears to have thought it wrong to reject altogether the practice of our fathers in the use of *expletive particles*; and sweetens the sound, or adds to the grace and force of many of our verbs, by the same artifice. To this purpose it may be observ'd, that wherever in any sentence, several others, and less principal, lead on to *one single verb*, in which all the rest *do* center and terminate, this verb is distinguished from all, that precede it, by an emphatical *expletive*, and this without the intervention of any other word, as is generally us'd. Thus in his last sermon, "If any thing, *saieth he*, that is bad, begin "to be in fashion, and to have the countenance of "great examples, if those, whom we fear, and "upon whom we depend, *do* discover any inclination that way, &c." And at other times it is us'd by him to avoid the concurrence of sounds, that ought never to come together. For as it would have offended his ear to have said, *We wilfully*, he separates the disagreeable sounds, and chuses to say, in his *Discourse on the sacrament*, "And we *do* wilfully neglect, &c." with the same judgment, and for the same reason, as the translators of the New-testament render the words in the x<sup>th</sup> of *Luke*, ver. 11. *Even the very dust of your city we do wipe off against you*, not *we wipe*, in sounds so ready to run into one another, and that must be kept asunder by a kind of painful distinction and pause of voice. In

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like

† The Rev. Mr. SAMUEL SAY, in the first of his *Essays*, printed with his poems, London 1745, in 4to, p. 114, 115.

like manner, in the same Discourse, tho' we generally say in common conversation, *make 'em fly*, &c. he chuses to say, *to fly*, *to meet*, and the like. And this is his usual practice, to introduce as many sweet and easy sounds, as the genius of our tongue will allow, into a language, which by the negligence of many writers, seems to abound too much in those, which are harsh and heavy. Another and still later writer upon the same subject § affirms likewise, that his Grace had *a nice ear*, and was *happy in the sweetness of his numbers*.

However, one of our most elegant writers, whose version of PLINY has shewn, what was never before imagined possible, that translations may equal the force and beauty of the originals, has in another work of his mix'd the highest compliments upon the Archbishop's sentiments with the strongest exceptions to his style, declaring<sup>b</sup>. that he "seems to have no sort of notion of rhetorical numbers ; and that no man had ever less pretensions to genuine oratory : That one cannot but regret, that he, who abounds with such noble sentiments, should want the art of setting them off with all the advantage they deserve ; that the sublime in morals should not be attended with a suitable elevation of language. The truth however is, his words are frequently ill chosen, and almost all ways ill placed. His periods are both tedious and inharmonious, as his metaphors are generally mean, and often ridiculous." But this ingenious gentleman, who allows, that there is *a noble simplicity* in some of his Grace's sermons, and that his *excellent* Discourse on Sincerity *deserves to be mentioned with particular applause*, will perhaps mitigate

§ Mr. JOHN MASON, in his *Essay on the power and harmony of prosaic numbers*, Edit. London, 1749, in 8vo. p. 49.

<sup>b</sup> Letters on several subjects by the late Sir THOMAS FITZ-OSBORNE, Bart. Letter XXIV. p. 109 & seqq. Edit. 1748.



gate his censure of the rest, if he considers the state of our language at the time of our Prelate's first appearance as a writer, before he made the great improvement in it: The few exceptionable expressions to be found in his works, in comparison of what are observable in those of all his contemporaries: The vulgarity, which some of them have contracted since his use of them: The variety of his subjects, to which his style was to be adapted, and in many of which the higher form of oratory would have been extremely unsuitable, particularly those of the argumentative kind, or upon the duties of common life: That discourses from the pulpit being chiefly design'd to be pronounc'd, regard is often to be had in the disposition of words and turn of sentences to the preacher's voice and manner of speaking: That genuine oratory, to which he is represented as a stranger, does not consist merely or even principally in the choice of well-sounding words, or the most harmonious arrangement of them, in which Archbishop TILLOTSON is by no means defective; but in the more important qualities, for which he is indisputably eminent, a copiousness of invention of topics proper for conviction and persuasion, urg'd with the greatest strength and clearness of expression: That the merits therefore of such a writer are not to be measur'd by a few passages selected out of whole volumes; especially as two thirds of his sermons, being publish'd after his death, want that perfection, which his last hand would have given them. And with regard to his two funeral sermons upon Mr. GOUGE and Dr. WHICHCOT, which are affirm'd to be as *cold and languid performances, as were ever perhaps produced upon such an animating subject*; not to insist upon the short time generally allow'd for the preparation of discourses of that kind, it is evident, that the former, being a justification of our Saviour's argument in proof of the resurrection, required

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reasoning rather than oratory ; and the latter, after the necessary explanation of the sense of St. PAUL in the text, contains some very forcible and pathetic consolations against the fear of death ; and the accounts of his two friends in these sermons will be certainly acknowledg'd not defective in any of the characters of a just panegyric.

His eminence as a preacher having occasioned a gentleman to ask him, by what means he had obtain'd it, he answer'd with his natural candour and modesty, " that if he had any of that excellency, " he must needs own all of it to be intirely owing " unto his early study of the Scriptures<sup>b</sup>." And he seems, in qualifying himself for the pulpit, to have had in view the great ends of preaching, as laid down by his friend and father-in-law Bishop WILKINS<sup>c</sup>, *informing* or *persuading* ; which, as that excellent writer observ'd, " may be most effectually done by " such rational ways of *Explication and Confirmation*, as are most fit and proper to satisfy mens " judgments and consciences. And this will in all " times be accounted good sense, as being suitable " to the reason of mankind ; whereas all other ways " are, at the best, but particular fashions, which, " tho' at one time they may obtain, yet will presently vanish and grow into disesteem." That Prelate indeed, in the opinion of the author of *Advice to a young Clergyman, in a letter to him*<sup>d</sup>, might be almost said to have taught us first to preach, as the Archbishop to have brought that art near perfection ;

<sup>b</sup> Discourse concerning the certainty of a future and immortal state in some moral, physiological, and religious considerations. By a Doctor of Physic, p. 129, *Edit. London 1706* in 8vo. The Author was Dr. WALTER HARRIS, Fellow of the College of Physicians.

<sup>c</sup> Preface to his *Ecclesiastes*.

<sup>d</sup> P. 45, 46. printed at London for C. RIVINGTON, but without any mention of the year or name of the Author, who was Mr. SAMUEL WESLEY, Rector of *Epsworth* in *Lincolnshire*, and address'd this letter to his Curate.

fection; “ had there been, *adds that writer*, as  
 “ much *Life*, as there is of politeness, and gene-  
 “ rally of cool, clear, close reasoning, and con-  
 “ vincing arguments in his sermons.”

The death of the Archbishop gave occasion to the poets to exercise their talents; among whom appear'd Mr. NATHAN TATE, the Laureat, and Mr. SAMUEL WESLEY, Author of an Heroic Poem on the *Life of Christ*; their *Elegies* being publish'd soon after that melancholy event. And most of the sermons printed on the decease of the Queen, took notice likewise of that of his Grace. Doctor BATES remark'd<sup>e</sup>, that *their principles and temper, their designs and endeavours were for peace; the hopes of obtaining which were weaken'd by the fatal conjuncture of their funerals*. And Dean SHERLOCK having mention'd her Majesty's designs for promoting true religion, and the service of the church of *England*, observ'd<sup>f</sup>, that he had reason to say this from those frequent intimations, which he had from *our late admirable Primate*, “ who, *says he*, had great designs  
 “ himself to serve the Christian religion, and the  
 “ church of *England* in its truest interests; and had  
 “ inspired their Majesties, and particularly the  
 “ Queen, who had more leisure for such thoughts,  
 “ with the same great and pious designs.” The Dean added, that perhaps no churchman ever had, and, he was sure, not more deservedly, a greater interest in his Prince's favour; and the great use, which he made of it, was to do public service to religion, and, whatever some might suspect, to the church of *England*, though it may not be directly in their way. “ And the greatest fault, *continues the*  
 “ *Dean*, I know he had, was, that some envious  
 “ and ambitious men could not bear his greatness,  
 “ which he himself never courted; nay, which he  
 Z 4 “ industri-

<sup>e</sup> Sermon on the death of Queen MARY, p. 20.

<sup>f</sup> Sermon at the Temple, Dec. 30. 1694. p. 16.

“ indultiously avoided. Before this all *England* knew and owned his worth ; and had it been put to the poll, there had been vast odds on his side, that he would have been voted into the See of *Canterbury*, for no man had ever a clearer and brighter reason, or more easy and happy expression, nor a more inflexible fearless honesty.” But this sermon of the Dean was immediately attack’d by Mr. JEREMY COLLIER, in a pamphlet, in 4to. intitled, *Remarks on some late sermons*, in which he treated the character and memory of the Archbishop with uncommon bitterness and indecency, and animadverted upon some passages in his Grace’s sermons preach’d on public occasions after the Revolution. Mr. COLLIER’s pamphlet was answer’d by Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS in a *defence of the Archbishop’s* [TENISON’S] *sermon on the death of her late Majesty of blessed memory, and of the sermons of the late Archbishop, &c.* printed at *London*, in 4to: to which Mr. COLLIER replied in a *Letter to the Author of the Defence*, prefixed to a second Edition of his own *Remarks*.

Mr. LOCKE’s regret for the loss of the Archbishop appear’d from a letter of his to Professor LIMBORCH, written from *London* on the 11th of Dec. following\*, in which he speaks of it, not only as a considerable one to himself, of a zealous and candid inquirer after truth, whom he consulted freely upon all doubts in theological subjects, and of a friend, whose sincerity he had experienc’d for many years ; but likewise as very important to the *English* nation, and the whole body of the reformed churches. And when he had occasion the year following to mention his Grace in his *Vindication of the reasonableness of Christianity*<sup>b</sup>, he stil’d him *that ornament of our church, and every way eminent Prelate*.

Their

\* Familiar Letters, p. 363.

<sup>b</sup> P. 23. Edit. 1695.



Their Majesties were affected with the deepest concern for his death. The Queen for many days spoke of him in the tenderest manner, and not without tears<sup>e</sup>; as his own death prevented him from feeling the terrible shock, which, if he had lived about five weeks longer, he must have received from that of her Majesty, of whose virtues and accomplishments he had the highest admiration, and to whom the King himself gave this testimony, that he could never see any thing in her, which he could call a fault<sup>f</sup>. His Majesty likewise never mention'd him but with some testimony of his singular esteem for his memory, and used often to declare to his Son-in-law Mr. CHADWICK, that "he was the best man, whom he ever knew, and the best friend, whom he ever had." And this seems thoroughly to confute a common traditional story, that his Majesty should say, that he was disappointed in our Archbishop and his successor TENISON in opposite respects, having received much less service from the abilities of the former in business, than from the latter, of whom he had not before conceiv'd so high an expectation.

The King's regard for the Archbishop extended to his widow. For his Grace's charity and generosity, with the expence of coming into the See, and the repairs and improvements of his palace, had so exhausted his fortune, that if his first fruits had not been forgiven him by the King, his debts could not have been paid: and he left nothing to his family, but the copy of his posthumous sermons, which was afterwards sold for 2500 guineas. His Majesty therefore granted Mrs. TILLOTSON on the 2d of May 1695, an annuity of 400 *l.* during her natural

<sup>e</sup> BURNET, *vol.* II. p. 136.

<sup>f</sup> Preface of Dr. EDWARD FOWLER Bishop of Gloucester, to his Discourse of the great dissingenuity and unreasonableness of repining at afflicting providences, p. 22. *Edit.* London 1695.

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ral life, and an addition to it on the 18th of *August* 1698 of 200 *l.* a year more; both which were continued till her death on the 20th of *January* 170 $\frac{1}{2}$ . And the King was so sollicitous for the regular payment of her pension without any deduction, that he always called for the money quarterly, and sent it to her himself. The augmentation of her pension appears to have been owing to the representation made by the Lord-Chancellor SOMMERS to his Majesty of the distress of her circumstances, upon the death of her Son-in-law Mr. CHADWICK. His Lordship had been particularly informed of this by two letters, one from Dr. SHERLOCK, Dean of *St. Paul's*, to Dr. HOBBS, a physician and intimate friend of his Lordship; and the other from Mr. NELSON to Lord SOMMERS himself. These letters are inserted here from the originals among the papers<sup>2</sup> of that great lawyer and statesman.

*Deanry, Sept. 25, 1697.*

“ Dear HOBBS,

“ **T**HAT kindness, which was design'd to  
 “ Archbishop TILLOTSON's nephew for main-  
 “ taining him at the university, and was then re-  
 “ fused, as you know, is now become necessary.  
 “ And your respect for the Archbishop's memory,  
 “ which was your motive then, I hope continues  
 “ still, especially considering the nephew was in no  
 “ fault. Mrs. TILLOTSON had such a regard for  
 “ the honour of my Lord, and such a kindness for  
 his

<sup>2</sup> That invaluable collection of the MSS. of the Lord SOMMERS, which would have fully illustrated a most important period of our History from the Revolution till the latter end of Queen ANNE's Reign, was, since the first impression of this book, unfortunately destroy'd with the chambers and library of the honourable CHARLES YORKE, Esq; by the fire, which happen'd in *Lincoln's-Inn-Square* on *Saturday* morning, *June* 27th, 1752.

“ his relations for his sake, that she would gladly  
“ maintain him, if she could : but she is reduc’d  
“ herself to those narrow circumstances by the un-  
“ expected death of Mr. CHADWICK, and that less  
“ expected condition he has left his family in, that  
“ she is utterly disabled. She came to me before I  
“ went to *Tunbridge*, to desire me to recommend  
“ him to some family to be tutor to some young  
“ gentleman, where he might support himself ; and  
“ upon that occasion acquainted me with her con-  
“ dition ; that Mr. CHADWICK had spent all his  
“ estate, but what was settled upon his wife in mar-  
“ riage, which comes to her eldest son : That the  
“ younger son and daughter had not one farthing  
“ to maintain them, but depended wholly upon  
“ her : That he had put a thousand pounds of her  
“ money into the Bank in his own name, and had  
“ given her no declaration of trust, though she had  
“ often desired it of him, which, by this means, is  
“ lost to her, and must pay his debts. That his  
“ estate in the forest<sup>h</sup>, where she has built her house,  
“ and which, I think, is copyhold, was purchas’d  
“ for his life at 300 *l.* which must now be paid a-  
“ gain. That upon his great importunity she built  
“ that house at great expence, which is now much  
“ too big for her. I was extremely concern’d to hear  
“ this sad account, and promised I would do what  
“ I could to maintain her nephew in the university ;  
“ for to take him so young from thence would be  
“ his ruin ; and for this reason have represented  
“ the case to you, presuming upon your old friend-  
“ ship, but have not the confidence to do so much  
“ to some great men you know, for it must be great  
“ kindness or great virtue, that recovers a balkt  
“ charity. But this good Lady’s condition is so  
“ very pitiable, that I wish you could persuade my  
“ Lord-Chancellor to represent it to his Majesty,  
“ who,

<sup>h</sup> *Valentines near Wanstead in Essex.*

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“ who, I am persuaded, after all his generous goodness to her would still be inclined to compassion her new misfortunes. I am, Dear Sir,

“ Your most affectionate friend and servant,

“ WILLIAM SHERLOCK.”

The Archbishop's nephew, mentioned in this letter, Mr. ROBERT TILLOTSON, son of his brother JOSHUA, was educated at *Clare-Hall*, of which he was afterwards Fellow; and during the course of his education was honour'd with the favour of Lord SOMMERS, out of regard to his uncle's memory, which was acknowledg'd by him in a *Latin* letter to his Lordship still extant. Upon entering into orders he was presented to the sine-cure of *Elme*, of considerable value in the Isle of *Ely*, by the Executors of the Archbishop, to whose disposal that option was left.

Mr. NELSON's letter to Lord SOMMERS was as follows:

“ My Lord,

“ I Took the liberty to put Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer & in mind of that favourable answer your Lordship procured from the King in reference to Mrs. TILLOTSON's affairs, in hopes that he would lay some proposals before his Majesty for his royal approbation, in order to satisfy the necessity of Mrs. TILLOTSON's circumstances, and that they might be dispatched before the King's departure; since, as I apprehend, matters of this nature suffer extremely by delay, and meet with the best success, when the sense of their fitness makes the deepest impression. The distance

\* CHARLES MONTAGU, made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1694, and afterwards created Baron, and at last Earl of Halifax.



“ distance I live from town, and the aversion I have  
“ to be troublesome to great men, makes me igno-  
“ rant of what progress Mr. Chancellor has made,  
“ though I must own he expressed great zeal to the  
“ memory of the Archbishop, and professed much  
“ readiness and inclination to serve Mrs. TILLOT-  
“ SON.

“ Your Lordship’s generous procedure em-  
“ boldens me to solicit the continuance of your  
“ favour, being confident, that your Lordship  
“ will receive a great deal of pleasure from see-  
“ ing that finished, which your Lordship’s great  
“ goodness has given a birth to. And if Mr. MON-  
“ tagu wants any incitement besides your Lord-  
“ ship’s example, your Lordship’s constant own-  
“ ing Mrs. TILLOTSON’s cause will be an argument  
“ too powerful to be resisted. I have all the respect  
“ imaginable for your Lordship’s post and cha-  
“ racter; but I must profess, ’tis the experience of  
“ your Lordship’s personal merit, which creates  
“ the profoundest respect of,

*July 1698,  
Blackheath.*

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s most obedient  
“ and most humble servant,

“ NELSON.”

The Archbishop’s two daughters, MARY and ELIZABETH, died (as has been already observ’d) before him, the former, who was married to Mr. CHADWICK, leaving two sons, and a daughter. The elder of those sons was educated at *Catharine-Hall* in *Cambridge* under Mr. BENJAMIN HOADLY, then Fellow of that college, now Lord Bishop of *Winchester*; and retiring to his paternal estate in *Nottinghamshire* of about three hundred pounds a year, died there young, leaving a son, EVELYN CHADWICK, Esq; now living. The younger son  
was

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was a *Turkey* merchant, and died about 1735. And the daughter was married to Mr. FOWLER, a considerable Linnen-draper in *London*, and son of Dr. FOWLER Bishop of *Gloucester*.

His posthumous sermons were publish'd by his Chaplain Dr. RALPH BARKER, who had been Fellow of *Caius-College* in *Cambridge*, and preferred by his Grace, while Dean of *St. Paul's*, in *September* 1690, to the Rectory of *St. Mary-Magdalen Old-Fish-Street* in *London*, which he resign'd in *May* the year following, for some other preferment. The Doctor was particularly qualified for this office of editor, having been instructed by his patron in the character, in which he wrote all his sermons. The first volume of these sermons, which begins with one on *John* i. 47. the last preach'd by his Grace, at *Kingston* *July* 29, 1694, was published in 8vo in 1695, with a dedication to the King by Mrs. TILLOTSON; and the 14th and last volume was printed in 1704. Mr. SAMUEL BRADFORD, then Rector of *St. Mary-le-Bow*, and afterwards Bishop of *Carlisle* in *April* 1718, and of *Rockester*, and Dean of *Westminster*, in 1723, who had been honoured with the friendship and patronage of his Grace, by whom he was collated to the Rectory above-mention'd in *November* 1693, was likewise employed in revising and correcting the impression of these sermons; besides which there was one, which was then suppress'd, and is now probably lost. In that sermon the Archbishop took an occasion to complain of the usage, which he had received from the Nonjuring party, and to expose in return the inconsistency of their own conduct, remarking particularly, that upon a just comparison of their principle of non-resistance with their actual non-assistance to King JAMES II, they had little reason to boast of their loyalty to him. And yet severe as this discourse was upon that party, Mr. NELSON, who was at  
I  
tach'd

tach'd to them, was very zealous for its being printed, alledging, that they deserved such a rebuke for their unjust treatment of so good a man.

His sermons against the doctrines of the church of Rome were attack'd after his death in a book, intitled, *A true and modest account of the chief points in controversy between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants*; the writer of which, who calls himself N. C. \* professes in the beginning of his preface to answer the most material objections in Dr. TILLOTSON's sermons, as well as to lay down the grounds, on which the Popish religion is founded. He allows indeed his Grace the character of an ingenious person, though, as he insinuates, without any solid sense or argumentation; and affirms him to have been much inferior to his antagonist Mr. SERJEANT, whom he styles a great wit, a title, which he much less deserv'd, than that other, which he gives him, of an indefatigable writer. The true and modest account was answered by a Divine, who had been honoured with his Grace's acquaintance <sup>b</sup>, LEWIS ATTERBURY, L. L. D. Rector of Sheperton and Hornsey in Middlesex, and elder brother of FRANCIS Lord Bishop of Rochester. Dr. ATTERBURY's answer was published at London in 1709 in 8vo, under the title of *A vindication of Archbishop TILLOTSON's sermons: being an answer to a Popish book, intitled, A true and modest account of the chief points in controversy between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, &c. Wherein these following heads are considered: 1. The church of Rome not catholic.*

2. The

\* He is called N. COLSON in p. 29. of the *Life of LEWIS ATTERBURY, L. L. D.* by EDWARD YARDLEY, B. D. *Archdeacon of Cardigan*, prefix'd to Dr. ATTERBURY's sermons, Edit. London, in 8vo. But his true name was CORNELIUS NARY, an Irish priest, and author of a Church History from the Creation to the Birth of CHRIST, in fol. some controversial Tracts against Dr. EDWARD SYNGE, Archbishop of Tuam; an English version of the New-testament, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Life of Dr. ATTERBURY.

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2. *The supremacy.* 3. *The infallibility of the church.*  
 4. *Transubstantiation.* 5. *Communion in one kind.*  
 6. *Prayers in an unknown tongue.* 7. *The invocation of saints.* 8. *Images.* 9. *Purgatory.* 10. *Indulgences.* In his answer to the preface of *the true and modest account*, he remarks<sup>i</sup>, that his Grace's sermons, "besides the plainness and familiarity of  
 " the expression, and the other beauties of style,  
 " have this advantage beyond other controversial  
 " writings, that his arguments against Popery be-  
 " ing intermix'd with more practical truths, are  
 " read with pleasure and delight by such persons,  
 " who would never endure the fatigue of turning  
 " over and considering a book writ closely, and  
 " consisting only of dry argumentation." He owns<sup>k</sup>, that the Archbishop "sometimes diverts himself  
 " and his reader with the foppery and impertinencies  
 " of the Popish authors, their unsound reasonings,  
 " and absurd consequences; but never, *adds he*, at  
 " the expence of good manners or good breeding.  
 " He every where mingles his sharpest reflections  
 " on the cause with charity to the person; recon-  
 " ciles controversy with good nature, and hath  
 " shewn himself to be not only a skilful divine, and  
 " an able disputant, but also a good man, and one  
 " of the civilest gentleman-like persons in the  
 " world."

Another answer to *the true and modest account* was publish'd in a book publish'd in April 1725 at London, and intitled, *A vindication of the doctrines of the church of England, in opposition to those of Rome, as far as the infallibility of the church in general, or of the church of Rome in particular, the catholicism of the Roman church, or the supremacy of her Popes, and the allegiance due to his Majesty, are concern'd; in which the objections of N. C. papist, against Archbishop TILLOTSON, Dr. HAMMOND, and other protestant*

<sup>i</sup> P. 4.

<sup>k</sup> P. 8.



testant writers, in the very popish words and terms, are particularly consider'd: By PHILIP GRETTON, sometime Fellow of Trinity-College, Cambridge, and now Rector of Springfield, Essex.

FRANCIS MARTIN of Galway in Ireland, Doctor of Divinity, Regius professor, and interpreter of the Greek language in the university of Louvain, undertook an elaborate confutation of the Archbishop's sermon on 1 Cor. iii. 15. concerning the hazard of being saved in the church of Rome; and publish'd it at Louvain in 1714 in 8vo, under the title of *Scutum Fidei contra Hæreses hodiernas: seu TILLOTSONIANÆ concionis, sub titulo Strana opportuna contra Papismum, Refutatio: auctore eximio Domino ac Magistro nostro FRANCISCO MARTIN, IBERNO-GALVIENSI, &c.* The dedication to the Bishop of Bruges is dated April 13, 1714. In the preface the author declares his resolution to procure a translation of his book into *French, English, and Irish*. At the close of it he justifies his having every where treated the Archbishop or as he calls him, *Pseudo-Archiepiscopus*, with harshness, alledging that he deserv'd it on account of his frequent and bold falsities on the subject of religion, and having been an Anabaptist, and the first Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was married; and because it was well known what party he follow'd, and by whom he was promoted to that See \*.

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\* Neminem offendat, quod TILLOTSONUM ubiq; durius exceperim. Quia in causâ religionis toties & tam splendide mentitus, ex Apostoli ad Titum mandato, dure, sicut commeruit, increpandus erat; nec mitiori stylo de mendaciis & imposturis ejus loqui me oportebat. Scapham semper licet appellare scapham. Adde quod ipse (ut heterodoxorum fide dignorum relatu accepi) Anabaptista fuerit, & primus Cantuariensem Mitram Uxori conjunxerit, cunctisq; notum sit, quibus partibus inter Heterodoxos studuerit, & a quibus fuerit ad eam dignitatem promotus. Angli saltem me intelligent. p. 220.

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Among the Protestants, who have attack'd his Grace's writings, one of the most forward and petulant was Dr. SOUTH, whose learning and genius were accompanied with an unrestrain'd acrimony of temper, and a boundless severity of language, mixed with the lowest and falsest, as well as the truest wit, both in his conversation and writings, against those, who differ'd in the least from him, especially in matters, which he imagin'd, or represented, to concern the interests of the establish'd church, for which, after the restoration, he appear'd the most zealous champion on all occasions, though before that event he had insinuated himself into the good opinion of Dr. JOHN OWEN, Dean of *Christ-Church*, where he was educated, and of the independent party, whom he afterwards abandoned, and joined with the Presbyterians †. These circumstances are related of him by Mr. WOOD, who has drawn his character in a manner not at all favourable to his memory, and has the more weight from his own conformity to the Doctor's profess'd principles both in church and state. It is no wonder, that a man of this Divine's disposition should conceive an early aversion to one of so opposite a temper and conduct as Dr. TILLOTSON; or shew it in his writings. He took extreme offence in particular at the sermon of the latter, preach'd at the *Yorkshire* feast in *December* 1678, and animadverted upon it several years after in one of his own on *Galat. ii, 5.* intitled, *False methods of governing the church of England exploded*; in which alluding to a passage, in which Dr. TILLOTSON speaks of *the plausible exceptions of those, who differ from us*, with respect to *some very few things*, Dr. SOUTH expresses himself thus ||: "The exceptions being thus stripp'd of  
" their *plausibility* and force too, and return'd upon  
" the

† Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. fol. 1042.

|| Dr. SOUTH's sermons, Vol. V. p. 486. Edit. 1737.

“ the makers of them, it follows, that notwithstanding all the loud harangues concerning differing in *lesser things* (as the phrase still goes) and our contending about shadows, and the like, made by some amongst us, who would fain be personally popular at the cost of the public, and build themselves a reputation with the rabble on the ruins of the church, which by all the obligations of oaths and gratitude they are bound to support, as I am sure that supports them; it follows, I say, that for the *governors of our church* to be ready, after all this, to *yield up* the receiv’d constitutions of it, whether to the *infirmity or impertunity, or the plausible exceptions*, (as their advocates are pleas’d to term them) of our clamorous dissenters, is so far from being a part of either the *piety or prudence* of those governors (as the same advocates intimate) that it is the fear of many both pious and prudent too, that in the end it is like to prove no other, than the letting a thief into the house, only to avoid the noise and trouble of his rapping at the door.” He then \* argues against the scheme of a *Comprehension*, and points out *the certain unavoidable effects* of it; “ nor indeed, *adds he*, could any other or better be expected by those, that knew, that the surest way to ruin the church would be to get into the pre-ferments of it.” He afterwards † shews his disinclination to the *Toleration*, which, he says, *had the fortune to get a law (or something like a law) made in its behalf*.

Mrs. ASTELL, in one of her works, which do honour to her understanding as well as piety, and give her an eminent rank among the writers of her sex, has made some remarks § upon the Archbishop’s

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doctrine

\* Ibid. p. 494.

† Ibid. p. 495.

§ The Christian Religion as profess’d by a daughter of the church of England, p. 403—418. Edit. London. 1705 in 8vo.

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doctrine of the satisfaction in his *Sermons concerning the divinity and incarnation of our blessed Saviour*; tho' she treats him with the highest respect, styling him a great author, so deservedly celebrated for his good sense and just expression, the strength and clearness of his reasoning, and his natural and unaffected eloquence. And Dr. WATERLAND \* commends this ingenious Lady † for having animadverted upon his Grace both modestly and judiciously.

The works of his Grace were digested by Mr. LAWRENCE ECHARD, Archdeacon of *Stow*, into a volume of *Maxims*, publish'd at *London* in 1719 in 8vo, who in his *Preface* observes, that he had been long of opinion, that out of the *English* writers many apophthegms, wise sentences, and contracted arguments, as beneficial and agreeable as any in foreign authors, might be selected to excellent good purposes; and that "more particularly in Archbishop TILLOTSON's works may be found a number of passages not inferior to ROCHEFOUCAULT and LA BRUYERE, but with this difference, that the latter wrote with design, and the Archbishop occasionally, as his subject led him; so that theirs were sometimes more finish'd, but his more natural: Theirs had sometimes a more artful turn, which the *French* nation have studied and practised almost to affectation: His had a native simplicity and grandeur more agreeable to the *English* taste. They all had a profound insight into human nature; but the *French* seem'd to have had more subtlety, and our *English* author more solidity." Upon this supposition and belief, Mr. ECHARD undertook to make a select collection of various passages out of the writings of the Archbishop; methodizing them under proper heads and sub-

\* Advice to a young student, p. 24. 3d Edit.

† She died at *Chelsea* in May 1731. *Monthly Chronicle*, vol. IV. p. 95, 96. and *Memoirs of several learned Ladies of Great Britain*: By GEORGE BALLARD, p. 460. Edit. *Oxford* 1752, in 4to.



subjects, as they would well bear. This treatise, he doubted not, would prove both useful and entertaining to all, who have a true taste for polite and correct writing; and that those, who had read but little of his Grace's works, when they came to see the justness of the thoughts, the happiness of the expressions, and the latent wit, that diffuses itself through the whole, would be incited to read him at full length, and to consider him not only as a divine and moralist, but as a gentleman, who had a large and deep insight into the nature of mankind.

The reputation of his Grace's writings in foreign countries was partly owing to *Monf. LE CLERC*, who in his *Bibliothèque Choïse*<sup>1</sup>, for the year 1705, gave an account of the second edition in 1699 in fol. of those publish'd in his Grace's life-time. He declares there, that the Archbishop's merit was above any commendations, which he could give, and that it was form'd from the union of an extraordinary clearness of head, a great penetration, an exquisite talent of reasoning, a profound knowledge of true divinity, a solid piety, and a most peculiar perspicuity and unaffected elegance of style, with every other quality, that could be desir'd in a man of his order: And, to crown all this, these excellent qualities were too conspicuous not to expose him to envy and calumny, which scarce ever attack persons of the common level, or those, whose qualifications are not eminent. That his Grace indeed had been accus'd of Socinianism; an imputation generally cast upon men, who have reason'd with a force and exactness above the vulgar, and preferr'd the expressions of Scripture to the language of the school-men. But slanders of this kind, instead of blemishing the reputation of men of the Archbishop's rank, only set it off with greater advantage, like shades in a picture. With regard to his sermons, *Monf. LE CLERC* ob-

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serves,

<sup>1</sup> *Tom. VII. Art. 8. p. 289. & seqq.*

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serves, that whereas compositions of that kind are commonly mererhetorical and popular declamations, and much better to be heard from the pulpit, than read in print, those of the Archbishop are for the most part exact dissertations, and capable of bearing the test of the most rigorous examination of the most accurate reasoners.

The sermons publish'd in his life-time were first translated into *Low Dutch*, and then a *French* version of them was begun by Monsf. D'ALBIAC, a *French* minister in *Holland*, and the first volume of it publish'd in 8vo at *Amsterdam* in 1706. Monsf. BERNARD, in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*<sup>m</sup>, gave a good extract of this volume, which he begins with remarking, that as the title of *sermons* is no great recommendation of a book, since many persons expect to find there only cold declamations on subjects common, and treated of a thousand times before by preachers; it would not have been improper to have intitled this work of the incomparable Archbishop, *Discourses or Dissertations upon the most important points of Religion*. He then observes, that these sermons would be better relish'd by men of learning and good taste, than by those, who are destitute of both. That some perhaps might be offended with the simplicity of the style, and treat what is thus plain and natural, as low. But that this simplicity in the original was no inconsiderable part of its merit among the *English*, so that many, who had no regard for religion, read these sermons merely for the beauty of the language. " It is to  
" be observ'd, continues Monsf. BERNARD, that the  
" *English* do not love a pompous kind of eloquence,  
" in which all the words are studied and plac'd  
" with as much care, as a statue of a saint in his  
" nich. They are apprehensive of a design to sur-  
" prize them, when they are approach'd with so  
" much

“ much preparation ; and they are jealous, lest this  
 “ elaborate dress should either conceal or disguise  
 “ the truth. They prefer the simple beauty of na-  
 “ ture to all this affected rhetoric, so oppress’d,  
 “ rather than adorn’d by a thousand foreign orna-  
 “ ments.” This he thought proper to premise, as  
 he was assur’d, that some persons abroad would cry  
 out, “ Are these the sermons of Archbishop TIL-  
 “ LOTSON, which have been so highly extoll’d ?”  
 And he adds, that it was affirm’d, that his Grace’s  
 third sermon on *Prov. xiv. 34.* had been made  
 great use of in another upon that text by a learned  
*French* Bishop, who was esteem’d one of the best  
 preachers, that ever appear’d in *France*.

The second volume of Mons. D’ALBIAC’s ver-  
 sion was publish’d in 8vo. But the task of translat-  
 ing the Archbishop’s works into *French* was already  
 undertaken by a much abler hand, Mons. BARBEY-  
 RAC, so justly esteem’d for his own writings, and  
 his excellent translations of, and commentaries upon,  
 GROTIUS and PUFFENDORF. The first volume of  
 his translation of his Grace’s sermons was publish’d  
 at *Amsterdam* in 1708. To this he prefix’d a long  
 Preface, to shew, that the Archbishop’s style and  
 manner of preaching are the best form’d for doing  
 the greatest good. He has added likewise notes  
 and citations from the original authors referr’d to  
 in the sermons. The second and third volumes were  
 publish’d the same year, and the fourth and fifth  
 afterwards ; and Mons. BARBEYRAC revis’d the  
 translation of the sixth. The Archbishop’s *Discourse*  
*against Transubstantiation* was likewise publish’d in  
*French* at *London* 1685 in 12°, and a new version  
 of it by Mons. BARBEYRAC in 1727 in 12°. His  
 sermons upon Repentance were translated also into  
*French* by Mons. BEAUSOBRE, Minister of the  
*French* church at *Berlin*, and printed at *Amsterdam*  
 in 1728 in 12°. Thirty of his sermons were printed

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likewise in *Highb Dutch* at *Leipsic* in 1694 in 4to<sup>n</sup>; and great part of those publish'd by himself were translated into that language by JOHN CHRISTOPHER FRAUENDORF, and printed there in 1697°. Another version of fifteen of his sermons was printed at *Dresden* in 1728 and 1730 in 8vo. with a Preface by BERNARD WALTEN MARPERGER<sup>p</sup>; and one in *Low Dutch* at *Rotterdam* in 1712 in 8vo<sup>q</sup>.

His *Funeral Sermon* upon his friend Dr. JOHN WORTHINGTON, preach'd at *Hackney* on the 30th of Nov. 1671, was that on *John* ix. 4. printed, as it was preach'd on another occasion, in the 3d volume of his posthumous sermons, publish'd by Dr. BARKER. But the character of Dr. WORTHINGTON, which was the conclusion of that sermon, and omitted in that edition, is inserted in the Preface to that learned man's *Miscellanies* publish'd at *London* in 1704 in 8vo. by Dr. FOWLER Bishop of *Gloucester*, and prefix'd to Dr. WORTHINGTON's *Select Discourses*, revis'd and publish'd by his son JOHN WORTHINGTON, M. A. at *London* 1725 in 8vo. In this character of Dr. WORTHINGTON, he is represented in the most amiable light, as a perfect example of unwearied diligence and activity in his profession, and for the general service of mankind; being furnish'd with a great stock of all excellent learning proper for a divine; pious and grave, without moroseness or affectation; as remarkable for his humility as his knowledge; zealous in his friendships; charitable beyond the proportion of his estate; universally inoffensive, kind, and obliging, even to those, who differ'd from him; not passionate or contentious in debates or controversies of religion; of eminent zeal for the promotion of learning and piety; and indefatigable in collecting, reviewing,

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<sup>n</sup> J. A. FABRICIUS de veritate religionis Christianæ, p. 282.

<sup>o</sup> Id. Ibid. p. 563.

<sup>p</sup> Id. Lux Evangelii, p. 186.

<sup>q</sup> Id. de veritate rel. Christian. p. 564.



and publishing the work of Mr. JOSEPH MEDE\*,  
 “ which he did with so much care, that it would  
 “ be hard to instance either in our own nation, or  
 “ perhaps any where else, in so vast a work, that  
 “ was ever publish’d with more exactness; by  
 “ which he hath raised up to himself a monument  
 “ likely to last, as long as learning and religion  
 “ shall continue in the world.” He had been edu-  
 cated in *Emanuel-College* in *Cambridge*, of which he  
 was Fellow, and ordain’d both Deacon and Priest  
 in 1646, his Testimonials being sign’d by several  
 other Fellows, and among these by Mr. WILLIAM  
 SANCROFT, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*,  
 who, as well as Mr. WORTHINGTON, was then  
 conniv’d at for not taking the Covenant\*. The  
 latter was created Bachelor of Divinity in 1646, and  
 Doctor in 1655†, and being chosen Master of *Je-  
 sus-College* many years after the ejection of Dr.  
 RICHARD STERNE, successively Bishop of *Carlisle*  
 and Archbishop of *York*, was with some difficulty  
 pre-

\* Printed at *London*, 1664, in folio. But most of the copies  
 of that edition were burnt in the fire of *London* 1666, which Dr.  
 WORTHINGTON intimates in a letter to the Earl of LAUDER-  
 DALE, communicated to me by the learned Dr. WARD of *Gres-  
 sham College*, dated *June 20*, 1670.—“ I am sure Mr. MEDE’s  
 “ papers cost me no small nor short pains. Tho’ I had not books  
 “ enough to gratify my friends, as I designed, nor had I ever  
 “ one of his books for myself. But had not the fire come,  
 “ it had been otherwise.” In another letter, dated *June 20*,  
 1669, to Mr. FOWLER, afterwards Bishop of *Gloucester*, he  
 says,—“ I have another care upon me, the revising of Mr.  
 “ MEDE’s works, which are in the press (but of this say no-  
 “ thing), I shall add some marginal hints, where there is need,  
 “ and make this edition better. They do five or six sheets a  
 “ week. The book is printed on a larger paper, and will come  
 “ into one volume, and be cheaper.”

\* Notes on the *English* translation of Dr. BARWICK’s *Life*,  
 p. 343, and WILFORD’s *Memorials*, p. 425.

† *Fasti Cantabr.* a MS. of which this extract was communi-  
 cated to me by JOHN WARD, L. L. D. Professor of Rhetoric  
 at *Gresham College*.

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prevail'd upon to submit to the choice and request of the Fellows, his inclination being to a more private and retir'd life ; and soon after the Restoration he resign'd that Mastership to Dr. STERNE. During the years 1660 and 1661 he cultivated a frequent correspondence by letters with that great promoter of all useful learning, Mr. SAMUEL HARTLIB ; four and twenty of Dr. WORTHINGTON's being publish'd at the end of his *Miscellanies*, and several others by Bishop KENNET in his *Register and Chronicle*.<sup>b</sup> He enter'd upon the Cure of *St. Bennet Fink*, in June 1664, under Dr. GEORGE EVANS, Canon of *Windsor*, who held a lease from that College of the Rectory ; and he continued to preach there during the Plague year 1665, coming thither weekly from *Hackney*, where he had plac'd his family<sup>d</sup> : and from February 18, 1665, till the Fire in September, he preach'd the Lecture of that Church, upon the death of the former Lecturer. Soon after that calamity, he was presented by Dr. HENRY MORE of *Christ's-College in Cambridge*, to the Living of *Ingoldsby* near *Grantbam in Lincolnshire* ; and to a Prebend of *Lincoln*, procur'd him by Archbishop SHELTON, who had a great esteem for him. From *Ingoldsby* he remov'd to *Hackney*, being chosen Lecturer of that Church with a subscription commencing from *Lady-Day* 1670 ; and the Church of *St. Bennet Fink* being then rebuilding, he made suit to the Church of *Windsor* to have his Lease of the Cure renew'd to him, being recommended by the Archbishop to Dr. RYVES, Dean of that Church. This was granted him, but some difficulties arising about the form of the

<sup>b</sup> P. 867, 871.

<sup>c</sup> Notes on Dr. BARWICK's life, *ubi supra*.

<sup>d</sup> Original letters of Dr. WORTHINGTON to Dr. EVANS ; communicated to me by his learned Grandson the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. THOMAS ARCHER, Rector of *St. Martin's Ludgate* and *Finchley*, and Prebendary of *St. Paul's*.

the Lease with regard to the Parsonage-house agreed to be rebuilt, he did not live to execute it, dying at *Hackney* in the latter end of the year 1671, and being interr'd in the Church there<sup>d</sup>. His patience and resignation appear from the following passage in a letter of his to his friend Dr. EVANS: "I would have no friend troubled about me. I cannot see any afflictions, that I have met with, could have been spared, or that it would have been so well with me, if I had been without them."

The Archbishop, besides his own *discourse against Transubstantiation*, was likewise editor of another upon the same subject, intitled, *A plain Representation of Transubstantiation, as it is received in the Church of Rome; with the sandy foundation it is built upon, and the arguments, which do clearly evert and overturn it*, written by Mr. HENRY PENDLEBURY, who was born in *Lancashire*, educated at *Christ's-College* in *Cambridge*, and ejected in 1662, for Nonconformity, from *Holcomb-Chapel* in his native county, and died June 18. 1695, at the age of seventy<sup>e</sup>.

His revisal of *the harmony of the four Evangelists* by Mr. SAMUEL CRADOCK, B. D. elder brother of Dr. ZACHARY CRADOCK, Preacher at *Grey's-Inn*, and Provost of *Eton-College*, was undoubtedly of considerable advantage to that work, printed at *London* in 1668 in fol. as his care had preserv'd it from the flames during the conflagration of that city in Sept. 1666. Which obligations are mention'd by the author in his preface with due acknowledgments to his *very worthy and learned friend*.

Not long after he was advanc'd to the Archbishopric, he had intended to have compos'd in *Latin* a system of natural and revealed religion: but the business of that important post was probably the cause of his

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<sup>d</sup> Notes on Dr. BARWICK's life, *ubi supra*.  
MY's Account, p. 400.

<sup>e</sup> Dr. CALA-

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not prosecuting the design. The plan, dated *March*  
1st 1697, is still extant in his own hand-writing; and  
as the smallest remains of so great a master deserve  
to be preserv'd, it is inserted here.

“ Summa theologiæ Christianæ in quatuor libros  
“ distributa.

“ I. De religione naturali & mentibus humanis  
“ insitâ.

“ 1. De DEO lumine naturali cognoscibili.

“ 2. De lege naturæ.

“ 3. De providentiâ divinâ.

“ 4. De immortalitate animorum.

“ 5. De præmiis & poenis post mortem.

II. “ De revelatione divinâ.

“ 1. De variis divinæ revelationis generibus &  
“ gradibus.

“ 2. De revelatione ad NOACHUM factâ.

“ 3. De revelatione ad ABRAHAMUM.

“ 4. De revelatione per MOSEM ad *Judeos*.

“ 5. De revelatione per Christum perfectissimâ  
“ & ultimâ.

“ 6. Quare non prius facta, sed tandiu dilata.

“ III. De religione Christianâ.

“ 1. De Jesu Domino & Salvatore nostro, & re-  
“ ligionis Christianæ auctore.

“ 2. De materiâ hujus revelationis.

“ 3. An Christus novas leges tulerit?

“ 4. De perfectione hujus religionis.

“ 5. De sacramentis novi foederis,

“ IV. De officio hominis Christiani.

“ 1. De fide hominis Christiani ad salutem ne-  
“ cessariâ.

“ 2. De poenitentiâ.

“ 3. De obedientiâ Christianâ in genere: ejus  
“ partes.

“ 4. De pietate adversus DEUM.

“ 5. De



- “ 5. De temperantiâ & continentiâ, five casti-  
tate.  
“ 6. De virtutibus five officiis proximum spec-  
tantibus.  
“ 7. De charitate omnium aliarum virtutum fonte  
& vinculo.  
“ 8. De obedientiâ sincerâ & verè evangelicâ.  
“ 9. De præparatione ad mortem.  
“ 10. De supremo judicio.  
“ 11. De vitæ futuris præmiis, & pœnis æ-  
ternis.”

There are extant likewise in his common-place-book in short hand the titles of a course of sermons, with a general one of *The Christian Religion vindicated and explained in several sermons upon the chief articles of it contain'd in the Apostles Creed*. But they are most probably those, which he drew up for the Edition of Dr. BARROW's sermons on that Creed; there being an exact correspondence between them, except that the Archbishop's title of the XIIIth sermon is *Of the truth of the Christian Religion*, whereas in Dr. BARROW's works it is *Of the Truth and Divinity of the Christian Religion*; and his Grace's MS. list contains only 33 sermons; but in the Doctor's works there is a 34th, intitled, *The Divinity of the Holy Ghost*.

He had likewise form'd, just before his advancement to the Archbishopric, a design of a new book of Homilies, which he communicated to Bishop BURNET and Bishop PATRICK<sup>f</sup>; not with an intention to lay aside the book of homilies already established, but to add a new one to that, which we have had almost two hundred years. He thought, that this was not full enough,

<sup>f</sup> See Bishop BURNET's Preface to his Essay towards a new book of Homilies, in seven sermons, prepared at the desire of Archbishop TILLOTSON, and some other Bishops, printed with his Sermons preached on several occasions, London 1713, in 8vo.

enough, and that it was, according to the state of things at the time, in which it was composed, fitted chiefly to settle peoples minds right with regard to the Reformation, and in opposition to Popery; and though such a work had been of great use to the nation, another book of Homilies, which should contain a full and plain account both of the doctrinal and practical parts of the Christian religion, and give a clear explanation of every thing relating to our holy faith, or to the conduct of our lives, was necessary chiefly for the instruction of the Clergy, and might also be a family-book for the general use of the kingdom.

He proposed, that it should consist of sixty-two Homilies, two and fifty for all the *Sundays* of the year, and ten for the following holydays; *Christmas*, the *Circumcision*, *Epiphany*, *Christ's presentment in the Temple*, the *Annunciation*, *Ash-Wednesday*, *Good-Friday*, *Monday* and *Tuesday* in *Easter* week, the *Ascension*, and *Monday* and *Tuesday* in *Whitson* week.

He design'd, that the book should begin at *Advent*, in this order: The first Homily should give a view of the *Mosaical* dispensation. The second was to explain the prophecies concerning the Messias during the first temple; and the third those in the captivity in *DANIEL*, and the others during the second temple. The fourth was to shew what were the defects in that dispensation, and what was necessary to establish a better covenant upon better promises; with a particular view of the nature of the priesthood under this better dispensation, it being ordination *Sunday*.

Then from *Christmas* to *Ash-Wednesday*, in a series of sermons, the circumstances of the doctrine; the parables, and the miracles of Christ, were to be copiously opened, with these particulars: On the feast of the *Circumcision*, baptism was to be explained, as introduced instead of it. On *Epiphany*, the calling

calling of the *Gentiles*, with the progress that the Christian religion made, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, with the persecutions that followed, were to be unfolded. On the *Presentment* in the *Temple*, the compliance with the authorised rituals of religion, even though the body of a church was much corrupted both with false doctrines and superstitious practices, was to be evinc'd, but with the necessary limitations of such a degree of corruption, as should make a separation from the body not only lawful, but necessary. On the feast of the *Annunciation*, the hymns of the Virgin MARY, ZACHARIAS, and SIMEON, as being parts of the daily worship, were to be paraphrased and explained. On *Asb-Wednesday*, and the first three *Sundays* in *Lent*, the whole doctrine of repentance was to be fully enlarg'd on; restitution and the reparation of injuries were to be much press'd; then the guilt of sin, with the just punishments due for it, both in this life, and in the next, were to be set forth, to prepare men for a due sense of the mercies of GOD in CHRIST. On the *Sunday* before *Easter*, the institution of the Lord's Supper, and every thing relating to it, were to be rightly stated. On *Good-Friday*, the sufferings and death of Christ were to be fully set forth. On *Easter-day*, the resurrection was the proper subject, and both the evidence and effects of it were to be enlarg'd upon. On *Monday* and *Tuesday* in that week the doctrines of the resurrection, of the judgment to come, and of the blessedness of the saints in heaven, were to be illustrated.

In the six *Sundays* between *Easter* and *Whitsontide* the doctrine of justification was to be explained, and some expressions in the first book of Homilies, that seemed to carry justification by faith only, to a height that wanted some mitigation, were to be well examined; and all, that St. PAUL had written on that head, both to the *Romans* and the *Galatians*,

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was to be explained and reconciled to what St. JAMES wrote on the same subject. Next sanctification was to be rightly stated; faith and hope were to be explained; the mission of the Apostles, and of their successors, the Bishops and Pastors of the church, with their authority, and its limits, were to be asserted. Christ's ascension, and his kingdom, as the Messiah, were next to be proved and explained. The great effusion of the Holy Ghost on *Whitsunday* was then to be dwelt on, upon which the authority of the New-testament is to be proved, in opposition to tradition; and the authenticalness of the Scriptures, as they are now in our hands, was to be evinc'd. For the *Monday* and *Tuesday* in *Whitsun* week, the necessity of inward assistances was to be shewn, and to be guarded against the danger of enthusiasm. On *Trinity Sunday*, the unity of God, and that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one God, was to be proved; with an exhortation to all in holy orders, to remember their vows, and to live and labour suitably to their profession.

In the *Sundays* after *Trinity*, the sum of the Ten Commandments, and every one of the ten, with the duties relating to it, were to be fully opened: In particular, humility, meekness, and contentment, and a freedom from envy and covetousness. After this, some sermons were to be added concerning prayer, with a particular enlargement on all the parts of the Lord's Prayer. And the year was to end with some sermons, inforcing on the people the care of their souls, and their duty to God, the creator of all things, and the governor of the world, and the Saviour of all who believe.

This is the substance of that scheme, which the Archbishop in a long conversation with Bishop BURNET had digested, and said he would communicate to others, to be corrected or improved, as they should advise. In order to this, Bishop PATRICK



undertook to examine carefully the Gospels and Epistles for the whole year, to see how they agreed with this scheme, and to select such other portions of the Gospels and Epistles, as might agree better with all the parts of it, and to prepare Collects proper for them. And from some discourse with his Grace afterwards Bishop BURNET concluded, that he had made a good progress in it.

About the same time their Majesties having published proclamations against profane swearing, breach of sabbath, lewdness, and drunkenness, the Archbishop desired Bishop BURNET to draw, for an essay, Homilies on those subjects, promising to take a large share of the work to himself. He said, that Bishop PATRICK was willing to do the same; and that he knew several persons, who had considered some matters relating to his scheme very critically, to whom he would assign such parts of it, as they would be both very ready and able to execute well; and that he had proposed the design to Bishop LLOYD, who approv'd highly of it, but would take no other share in it, than the revising the several compositions, that were given in towards the finishing the work.

When Bishop BURNET had drawn up the five Homilies, which the Archbishop had prescrib'd to him, and which were afterwards printed, with the amendments of Bishop LLOYD, his Grace was so pleased with them, that he told the Bishop of *Salisbury*, that his Lordship must take for his share the whole Ten Commandments.

But soon after this they found a spirit of opposition growing so strong, and so much animated and supported, that it was to no purpose to struggle against it at that time. For which reason, this with many other good designs was reserved to a better opportunity, and no further progress made in it.

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The *Preface* to the letters of Sir EVERARD DIGBY, one of the conspirators in the Gun-powder Treason, subjoin'd to a new edition of the history of it publish'd by Bp. BARLOW in 1679 in 8vo, was evidently written by his Grace, not only from his style and manner of writing, but as being likewise subscrib'd J. T. and the originals of those letters having been mentioned by him in his sermon on the 5th of *November* the year preceding as in his possession, being found about *September* 1675 by Sir RICE RUDD, Bart. and WILLIAM WOGAN of *Grays-Inn*, Esq; at the house of CHARLES CORNWALLIS, Esq; Executor of Sir KENELM DIGBY, son and heir of Sir EVERARD, tied up in two silk bags, among the deeds, evidences and writings of Sir KENELM. They were licens'd for publication *January* 31. 167<sup>8</sup>, and the preface gives an account of the fidelity of their publication, with several remarks upon them; particularly, that Sir EVERARD appears from them to have been verily persuaded of the lawfulness of the design, in which he had been engag'd; and that he thought it also lawful to deny any thing upon his examination, that was to the disadvantage of his religion, or might bring others into danger, without any regard to truth: And that the design itself was a real plot, wherein several popish priests and Jesuits, and other persons of quality of that religion, were engag'd; and not only so, but that, if it had taken effect, an association of foreign Princes of the same religion, by a solemn oath, like that of the holy league in *France*, was design'd to have assur'd the business afterwards. " But  
 " now, *continues the Preface*, to come threescore  
 " years after, and to think to baffle all the records  
 " and histories of that time by a bold and ground-  
 " less surmise, that all this was a contrivance of  
 " Secretary CECIL, without the least proof or evi-  
 " dence produced for it, is a confidence only becoming  
 " such

“ such a character and such a cause. To conclude this  
“ matter, tho’ the priests of the *Romish* church are  
“ able to impose so soon upon the easy credulity of  
“ their people, as to persuade them every day to  
“ deny their senses, and to believe contrary to what  
“ they plainly see; yet have they no reason to ex-  
“ pect the same civility and compliance from us,  
“ whom they know to have, above an hundred  
“ years ago, taken up an obstinate resolution to be-  
“ lieve our own senses, against the confidence and  
“ presumption of any church in the world.”

The short time, during which the Archbishop fill’d his See, prevented him from distinguishing, as he intended, several learned men, by the preferments in his own disposal, or his interest with the crown. Among these was Dr. HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, then Archdeacon of *Suffolk*, Prebendary of *Norwich*, and Rector of *Sabam* in *Norfolk*, who in a letter to his brother, dated in that city on the 28th of *November* 1694\*, lamented, that “ his expectations of farther advancement were all dead with the Archbishop:” Nor did he receive any additional preferment till *June* 1702, when he was promoted to the Deanry of *Norwich*, upon the death of Dr. HENRY FAIRFAX, descended of the noble family of that name, who had been expell’d from his Fellowship of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, on account of his opposition to King JAMES II’s mandate for admitting Mr. FARMER President of that college.

But the Archbishop actually succeeded in his endeavours for another learned writer, Dr. GABRIEL TOWERSON, author of the *Explication of the Catechism of the church of England*\*, for whom he procur’d from their Majesties the Rectory of *St. An-*

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*drew-*

\* In the possession of JOHN LOVEDAY, of *Caversham* near *Reading*, Esq.

\* Publish’d in three parts in fol. at *London* in 1678, 1680, and 1681.

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*drew-Undershaft* in London, vacant in April 1692, by the advancement of Dr. ROBERT GROVE to the Bishopric of *Chichester* †. Dr. TOWERSON, who was a native of *Middlesex*, had been enter'd in 1650 a Commoner of *Queen's College* in Oxford, where he took the degree of Master of arts in 1657, and was elected Fellow of *All Souls College* in 1660, about which time he took Orders, and was afterwards presented by that College to the Rectory of *Welwyn* in *Hertfordshire*, which he held till his death. He was created Doctor of divinity by Archbishop SANCROFT about the year 1677 §, to whom he dedicated the third part of his *Explication of the Catechism*, as he intended to have done to his successor TILLOTSON a Latin Tract upon the Epistle to the *Philippians*, in acknowledgment of his Grace's kindness in obtaining for him the Rectory in the city ||. He died in *October* 1697, and was interr'd at *Welwyn*, on the 21st of that month. His funeral sermon preach'd by Dr. GEORGE STANHOPE gives his character at large, as a man remarkable for a modest, gentle, affable, and communicative temper, which gave a lustre to the rest of his accomplishments, and for the utmost patience and resignation amidst the severest tryals, and particularly under the loss of his son, drown'd in the mote of his house; upon which melancholy incident he answer'd Dr. STANHOPE, who offer'd to supply his Cure, that he had soon conquer'd the disorderly part of his grief, and found no relief so great as employing himself in his study, and the attendance upon his duty \*. His promotion to *St. Andrew Undershaft* is mention'd by Dr. STANHOPE † as one instance of  
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† Newcourt, Repertorium, Vol I. p. 268.

§ Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1010.

|| A sermon at the funeral of GABRIEL TOWERSON, D. D. by GEORGE STANHOPE, D. D. p. 26, 27. Edit. London 1698 in 4<sup>o</sup>.

\* Ibid. p. 28, 29.

† P. 26.



the late excellent Primate's care to prefer worthy and useful men.

His preferment of Mr. BRADFORD, afterwards successively Bishop of *Carlisle* and of *Rochester*, to the Rectory of *St. Mary-le-Bow*, has been already touch'd upon; and the manner of it, as well as Mr. BRADFORD's character, deserves to be particularly related. That learned and exemplary Divine, who was son of a citizen of *London*, was born in *Black Fryars Dec. 20. 1652*, and educated both at *St. Paul's School*, and at the *Charter-house*, and afterwards at *Bennet-College in Cambridge*, which he left without taking a degree, on account of some scruples with respect to the subscriptions, declarations, and oaths requir'd on that occasion, and especially for holy orders. For which reason he return'd home, and pursued his studies, with a view to the profession of *Physic*, which he soon abandon'd for that of *Divinity*; and having satisfied his former doubts, procur'd, by means of Archbishop SANCROFT, a royal mandate to the university for the degree of *Master of arts* in 1680, and ten years after was ordain'd *Deacon* and *Priest* by Bishop COMPTON. In the beginning of the year 1697 he was elected *Minister* of *St. Thomas's church* in *Southwark*, being recommended to the governors of that hospital by Dr. TILLOTSON, then *Dean* of *St. Paul's*, and divers other eminent Divines; and he was soon after chosen *Lecturer* of *St. Mary-le-Bow*. He was scarce settled in *Southwark*, when the *Dean*, now *Archbishop*, engag'd him to be *Tutor* to his grandsons; upon which he remov'd to *Carlisle-house* in *Lambeth*, but continued to discharge the duties both of his parochial *Cure* and *Lectureship*. Whilst he was on a *Sunday morning* at the former of these, Dr. TIMOTHY PULLER, the incumbent of *St. Mary-le-Bow* dying, the chief of the parishioners went immediately, without Mr. BRADFORD's knowledge, to *Lambeth Palace* to solicit the Rectory for him. His Grace

receiv'd them very courteously, but told them, that they had taken the most likely method to prevent his doing what they asked, since all other parishes in the city of his patronage would have reason to expect his obliging them upon a like application; and consequently he should thus lose in effect the free disposal of his own preferments: so that he gave them no promise, nor farther hopes of success, than by saying, that he was glad to find, they had so good an opinion of Mr. BRADFORD, to whose merit he himself was no stranger, as being almost one of his family; and for whom he should at a convenient time shew his regard. The Gentlemen in the afternoon inform'd their Lecturer of what had pass'd, and press'd him to go that evening himself to the palace; which he declin'd; but the Archbishop sent for him the next morning before he was out of his bed, to which he, being of a very weakly constitution, was generally confin'd by a violent fit of the head-ach, after doing his duty on a *Sunday*. When he came, his Grace told him in what danger he was of losing the Living, which he had intended for him; but at the same time sign'd the *fat* for his collation, which was expedited the next day, *November* 21. 1693. In *March* 1698 he became Chaplain to King WILLIAM, as he was afterwards to Queen ANNE, upon whose visiting the university of *Cambridge* in *April* 1705 he was honour'd with the degree of Doctor in divinity, together with Dr. WILLIAM FLEETWOOD, Dr. SNAPE, and others; and in *February* 1707 had a Prebend of *Westminster* conferr'd upon him. In 1710, just after the trial of Dr. SACHEVEREL, he was recommended to, and accepted of by her Majesty for the Bishopric of *St. David's*; but upon the change of the ministry, being refus'd to hold his Prebend of Rectory in *commendam*, the circumstances of his family oblig'd him to wave the Bishopric. In *May*

1716 he was elected Master of *Bennet College* in the room of Dr. THOMAS GREEN, who had resign'd; and in *April* 1718 was advanc'd to the Bishopric of *Carlisle*, and *July* 19. 1723, translated to that of *Rochester*, which he held with the Deanry of *Westminster* till his death, on the 17th of *May* 1731, in the 79th year of his age\*.

The merits of Dr. HUMPHREY HODY likewise recommended him to his Grace, to whom he was appointed domestic Chaplain in *June* 1694<sup>y</sup>. He was born *January* 1st. 1659 at *Odcombe* in *Somersetshire*, of which his father was Rector, and in 1676 sent to *Wadham College* in *Oxford*, of which he was chosen Fellow in 1684, having taken the degree of Master of arts in *June* 1682, as he did in *February* 169 $\frac{2}{3}$  that of Doctor of divinity. His first performance was written while he was only Bachelor of arts in 1680 and 1681, being a *Latin* dissertation against ARISTEAS's history of the seventy interpreters, printed at *Oxford* in 1685, in 8vo. This produc'd an answer from ISAAC VOSIUS, Canon of *Windsor*, at the end of his *Appendix* to his observations on POMPONIUS MELA, printed at *London* in 1686 in 4to. Dr. HODY's next work was the *Prolegomena* to JOHN MALELA's Chronicle. His translation into *English* of an antient *Greek* manuscript in the public library at *Oxford*, publish'd at *London* in 1691, under the title of *The unreasonableness of a separation from the new Bishops*, engaged him in a controversy with Mr. DODWELL, which produced several pieces on both sides of that subject. He had been Chaplain to Dr. STILLINGFLEET, Bi-

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shop

\* History of the college of *Corpus-Christi* in *Cambridge*, by ROBERT MASTERS, B. D. p. 184—192. Edit. *Cambridge* 1753 in 4to.

<sup>y</sup> Dissertatio de vita & scriptis HUMPHREDI HODI, autore S. JEBB, M. D. p. xxvi, xxvii. præfixa libro HODII de Græcis illustribus linguæ Græcæ literarumque humaniorum institutibus, Edit. *Londini* 1742.

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shop of *Worcester*, before he was taken into the family of Archbishop TILLOTSON, whose successor TENISON continued him in the same office, and gave him the Rectory of *Charte* near *Canterbury* upon the death of Mr. WHARTON, on the 5th of *March* 169 $\frac{4}{5}$ ; which Dr. HODY immediately exchanged for that of *St. Michael Royal* in *London*. This living he held till his death on the 20th of *January* 170 $\frac{6}{7}$ , together with the Greek Professorship at *Oxford*, to which he was chosen in *March* 169 $\frac{8}{9}$ , and the Archdeaconry of *Oxford* conferr'd upon him in 1704. The last Treatise publish'd by him is intitled, *De Bibliorum Textibus originalibus, versionibus Græcis, & Latinâ Vulgatâ, Lib. IV.* printed at *Oxford* in 1705 in fol. He had prepar'd for the press a valuable work form'd from the lectures, which he had read in the course of his Professorship, and containing an account of the lives, characters, and works of those illustrious Greeks, who introduc'd the study of their antient language and learning into *Italy*. But it continued in manuscript above thirty years after his death, and was published at *London* in 1742 in 8vo, by SAMUEL JEBB, M. D. under the title of *De Græcis illustribus linguae Græcæ literarumque humaniorum instauratoribus, eorum vitis, scriptis, & elogiis, libri duo*, with an account in *Latin* of the author's life, extracted chiefly from a manuscript one written by himself in *English*.

Another of the Archbishop's Chaplains, but less eminent for his writings, which consisted only of a few sermons, was Dr. GEORGE ROYSE, born at *Martock* in *Somersetshire*, about the year 1655, and admitted a Semi-commoner of *St. Edmond's Hall* in *Oxford* in the beginning of *April* 1671 $\frac{2}{3}$ , where he took the degree of Bachelor of arts *March* 1st, 167 $\frac{4}{5}$ ,



167<sup>4</sup><sup>a</sup>, and was soon after elected Fellow of *Oriel College*. Upon his taking the degree of Master, May 12th, 1678<sup>b</sup>, he enter'd into holy orders, and became Chaplain, first to RICHARD Lord WENMAN in *Oxfordshire*, then to GEORGE Earl of BERKLEY, and afterwards to King WILLIAM, whom he attended in that capacity to *Ireland* in June 1690<sup>c</sup>, having been created Doctor of divinity at *Oxford* on the 22d of May that year<sup>d</sup>. After his return from *Ireland*, he was made Chaplain to Archbishop TILLOTSON, who gave him the Rectory of *Newington* in *Oxfordshire*, vacant by the death of Dr. HENRY MAURICE, Chaplain to his predecessor; and on the 1st of December following Dr. ROYSE was elected Provost of *Oriel College*, in the room of Dr. ROBERT SAY deceas'd<sup>e</sup>. He was afterwards advanced to the Deanry of *Bristol* upon the death of Dr. WILLIAM LEVET, being install'd in it on the 10th of March 169<sup>3</sup><sup>f</sup>, and died in April 1708<sup>g</sup>.

Among others, in whose favour his Grace exercised the prerogative annexed to the Archiepiscopal See of conferring degrees in the several faculties, was Mr. ROBERT HOOKE, Professor of geometry in *Gresham College*, to whom he gave that of Doctor of physic in December 1691<sup>h</sup>; who well deserved such a distinction by his uncommon industry and sagacity in the study of natural philosophy, and the fertility of his invention in mechanics.

His long acquaintance with, and high regard for the character and writings of that great master of botany and natural history in general, Mr. JOHN RAY, would have been of advantage to the fortune of the latter, which was very slender, after his

Grace's

<sup>a</sup> Fasti, Vol. II. col. 195.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. col. 209.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> Fasti, col. 235.

<sup>e</sup> Athen. ubi supra.

<sup>f</sup> WILLIS's Survey, Vol. I.

p. 787.

<sup>g</sup> WARD's Lives of the Professors of *Gresham College*, p. 188.

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Grace's advancement to the Archbishopric, if that modest and pious man would have accepted of preferment in the church at a time of life, when he thought himself incapable of discharging the duties of it. Nor did he omit the first opportunity of returning the Archbishop a public mark of his gratitude and esteem, in a very polite dedication to his Grace of his *Three physico-theological discourses, concerning the chaos, the deluge, and the dissolution of the world*, publish'd in 1693 in 8vo.

His Grace was likewise instrumental in procuring the Deanry of *Durham* for Dr. THOMAS COMBER, with whom he had long cultivated a strict friendship, and for whose learning and piety he had an high esteem. That Deanry being vacant in 1691 by the refusal of Dr. DENNIS GRANVILLE, younger brother of JOHN the first Earl of *Bath*, to take the oaths, the King was consulting with some of the leading men at court, to whom it should be given. The Marquis of *Caermarthen*, afterwards Duke of *Leeds*, and the Archbishop, were in the presence-chamber, when the Earl of *Fauconberg*, who had been reduced from a wavering state to a firm adherence to Protestantism by the private discourse and writings of Dr. COMBER, especially his *Advice to the Roman Catholics*, proposed that Divine to them as a proper person for that preferment. Whereupon the Archbishop, being as much influenc'd by his regard for the Doctor, as the Marquis was connected with him by family, they immediately approved of Lord *Fauconberg's* proposal, and Dr. COMBER being recommended to his Majesty was collated to the Deanry<sup>b</sup>. The year following his Grace requested the new Dean to write an answer to a virulent libel against the government, call'd *Great Bri-*

<sup>b</sup> Extract of a MS. Life of Dr. THOMAS COMBER, some time Dean of *Durham*, written by himself.

*Britain's just complaint*, of which Sir JAMES MONTGOMERY was supposed to be the author: And the Dean having finished his confutation of it, sent it to the Archbishop, who immediately caused it to be printed, though without the writer's name<sup>l</sup>. His Grace had many years before interposed to moderate the differences between Dr. COMBER and Dr. BURNET, on account of the *History of the Regale*, published by the latter in 1682, to which the former having written an answer, sent it to Dr. LAKE, Bp. of *Chichester*, who committed it to the press, after having shewn it to some of Dr. BURNET's friends; which occasioning much altercation both in words and writings, Dr. TILLOTSON used all his interest with the contending parties for an accommodation. And two years after, when Dr. COMBER was preparing for the press the *second part of the History of Tythes*, against Mr. SELDEN, Dr. BURNET's book above-mentioned, and a treatise ascrib'd to father PAUL, Dr. BURNET being then in disfavour with the court, and going into *France*, their common friend Dr. TILLOTSON requested Dr. COMBER to omit all mention of that Divine in his work, which he readily consented to do<sup>k</sup>.

Such are the memorials relating to the incomparable Archbishop TILLOTSON, which the distance of above half a century from his death has allowed me to collect; a task too long neglected by others more equal to it, and now undertaken by me from a just apprehension, that most of the present materials for a life of him would in all probability have been lost in the course of a few years more. I can only wish, that the public may receive the same satisfaction from the result of my labour, as I have from the prosecution of this attempt to do justice to

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<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

<sup>k</sup> MS. Life of Dr. COMBER.

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the memory of one of the greatest and best of men.  
And I shall make some amends for my own imper-  
fections, by introducing in the *Appendix* the judi-  
cious observations of a writer<sup>1</sup>, whose friendship I  
must always esteem a singular advantage to myself,  
as his works are universally allow'd to be to the joint  
interests of learning and religion.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Mr. JORTIN.



## APPENDIX



# A P P E N D I X.

## N U M B E R I.

*Some memorials of the most reverend Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON, late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury: Written upon the news of his death by J. B<sup>r</sup>. M. A. for his own private satisfaction, and out of honour to his Grace's memory.*

I Have reason to be nearly and closely concern'd upon the hearing of this unexpected news, and to lament it, not only in reference to myself, considering my *quondam* relation to him, as his first admitted pupil, about the latter end of *March 1650*, now almost 44 years ago; but also upon account of the public loss both to this kingdom and church, by the taking away of so great a person, the chief Metropolitan of this church, and Privy-Counsellor to their most gracious Majesties, the prime ornament of his age, the love and admiration of all good men, of all ranks and qualities. I do, and must ever acknowledge with thankfulness to almighty God, that it was a great blessing, and a merciful disposal of his providence to me, that I was placed under the tuition of so excellent a person, as he was then, being but junior Bachelor, and only a Probationer for a Fellowship in *Clare-Hall Cambridge*. There were several others admitted under his tuition the same year, and, among the rest, the now worthy Master of the *Charter-house*, Dr. BURNET. But he had other pupils besides, which were put over to him by Mr. CLARKSON, Fellow of the said college, who had been his own tutor. He

\* JOHN BEARDMORE, who was admitted sizar and pupil to Dominus TILLOTSON on the 7th of *April 1651*, according to the register of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*.

He was at those years a very good scholar, an acute logician and philosopher, a quick disputant, of a solid judgment, and no way unqualified for the trust and charge incumbent upon him. He spoke *Latin* exceedingly well, read lectures to us, that were admitted under him, out of *BURGERSDICIUS*'s logic, with great smartness and judgment; and when we went to take a new lecture, he examined us about the former, according to the author, and his own explanations. When we went to prayers in his chamber a-nights, he put us for some time at first upon construing or rendering into *Latin* a chapter in the *Greek Testament*, in which he was a very great critic; and afterwards, in process of time, he used to put some or other upon giving account of the day's reading; after which account given, he would put them upon defending their author and his sense or tenets. This was ever done in *Latin*; for I know not, that ever he spoke a word of *English* to us, whilst we were so together, or permitted any of us to do so. He sometimes had us to declaim or dispute before him in his chamber also; but this was done in the afternoon upon such days, as he appointed. We also went to him to prayers, for the most part duly on Lord's-day nights, when he examined some or other of the sermon or sermons heard that day; and this was done in *English*; for that was the only day, when he spake to us, or we gave him our accounts, in *English*.

His prayers were (according to the use of those times) of that sort, which we call *conceived prayers*, in which he had a very great faculty; but always perform'd them with gravity and fervour; as he did also, when it was his course to perform prayer in the chapel.

In the week-days, when he had his prayer, as we were going forth out of his chamber, he usually recalled some one of us, and then would use those he

called with a fair freedom ; discourse them kindly, encourage to studiousness, seriousness, and diligence, or tell them of any fault he either observ'd or heard of in them ; and those, that deserv'd it, he would reprove very sharply.

Thus he was a very good tutor, and careful of his pupils behaviours and manners ; had a true love for those of us, that he saw deport themselves well, and was respectful to them ; but very severe upon those, that did otherwise.

As for other my observations concerning him, whilst I was related to him, and knew him, they are such as these, that follow :

He was very religious and serious ; pray'd much in secret, in his bed-chamber : He used his voice in them, but so as none could perceive or hear the same, as I think, except myself, who kept just over him. He seemed to be much contrite in his devotions ; and he doubtless read the scriptures much, it appearing by his sermons, that he was very ready in them.

He was a very attentive hearer of sermons, of which in that time there was both great and good store, he generally hearing four every Lord's day, besides the weekly lecture at *Trinity-Church* on *Wednesdays*, which was preach'd by a combination of the worthiest and best preachers in the university at that time, all of them Fellows of colleges.

That time being a time of freedom, the most prevailing men were generally contra-remonstrants, and used to preach much upon those subjects, as Dr. HILL<sup>b</sup> especially. Mr. TILLOTSON heard him  
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<sup>b</sup> THOMAS HILL, D. D. educated at *Emanuel-College* in the university of *Cambridge*, and incorporated as Master of arts in that of *Oxford* on the 9th of *July* 1622. He was afterwards Rector of *Tichmarsh* in *Northamptonshire*, and one of the assembly of Divines, and at last Master of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*, in the room of Dr. THOMAS COMBER ejected by the  
autho-

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constantly on Lord's day mornings at *St. Michael's Church*, and in the afternoons often at *Trinity* : But it did not appear afterwards, that he imbibed that sort of theology, but rather was plainly averse to it. There were divers young preachers came up in those times, who were of a freer temper and genius ; such as were Mr. SAMUEL JACOMB<sup>c</sup>, Mr. BRIGHT of *Emanuel-College*<sup>d</sup>, Mr. PATRICK, now Bishop of *Ely*, and others ; who went not that way. Mr. TILLOTSON seem'd to be an eclectic man, and not to bind himself to opinions.

He was a person of very good wit, sharp, and acute, pleasant in conversation, but with much decorum and gravity for his years.

I know not, that he was of those called hard and plodding students, nor affected to be so. He did not note or pick out by way of Common-place, or otherwise, out of books he read, but only mark'd them, or some of them, that he meant to familiarize, with a black pencil. He read TULLY well ; and I think I have heard say also, TWISSE's *Vindiciæ Gratiæ* ; not that he was principled with the doctrine of it, which, I have touch'd before, it appears he was not, but because of the acuteness of that author in disputation.

He authority of the Long-parliament, before whom Dr. HILL was a frequent preacher. He died in 1653, being succeeded by Dr. ARROWSMITH, and his funeral sermon was preach'd by Dr. ANTHONY TUCKNEY, and printed in 1654 in 8vo.

<sup>c</sup> He was B. D. and Fellow of *Queen's-College* in Cambridge, and afterwards chosen Minister of *St. Mary Woolnoth* in Lombard-street in London, where he died on the 12th of June 1659, in the 30th year of his age, his funeral sermon being preach'd on the 17th of that month by SIMON PATRICK, B. D. then Minister of *Battersea* in Surry.

<sup>d</sup> GEORGE BRIGHT, afterwards D. D. Rector of *Loughborough* in *Leicestershire*, Chaplain to MARY Princess of *Orange*, and after the revolution Dean of *St. Asaph*. He publish'd at London in 1678 *A treatise on Prayer*, dedicated to THEOPHILUS Earl of *Huntingdon*, and in 1695 six sermons preach'd before the Queen at *Whitehall*, and was editor of the first volume of Dr. LIGHTFOOT's works, printed at London 1684 in folio.



He was not imploy'd much in exercise either in public or in the college, but rather declined it all he could ; but what he was put upon, he performed it very well.

There was a kind of feud in the college betwixt the old and the new Fellows ; for 'tis well known what differences in opinion and affection the civil wars created in the nation, which differences extended to the universities, and the particular colleges and societies therein, as well as to other places. The old Fellows, that then remained in the college, had indeed so far dispensed with their judgments, as to have either taken the covenant, and after that the *engagement*, as it was called, or otherwise to have comply'd so far with the prevalent powers of those times, as to have kept their Fellowships ; but yet still very likely in their inward thoughts and inclinations to lean to the antient government, both in church and state. I believe Mr. TILLOTSON then, according to the prejudices of his education, might be something byass'd the other way (tho' not very hotly, after I came under him) and so was one of those, who lay rather under the disgust of the senior Fellows : yet he kept himself so even and temperate in his speeches and other demeanor of himself, as that I never heard or observ'd any particular reflections upon him from the other party ; and in special I have observ'd, that Mr. JACKSON, the President or senior of the Fellows, since Dr. JACKSON, ever gave a fair respect to him.

Tho' he was Probationer to a Fellowship in 1651 (which I think was by *mandamus* from the higher powers) yet he was not actually admitted into a Fellowship of some considerable time, but lived at his own charge. At length two Fellowships being declared void, he was received into one of them, and one Mr. NEWCE (who also had lived as Probationer) was taken into the other.

I have heard him say, the society dealt not fairly with him about that matter. For when after the Restauration in the year 1660, those Fellows, who had been turn'd out upon account of their not taking the covenant, came to be re-admitted into their Fellowships, and, among the rest, the famous Dr. PETER GUNNING; he, being then a man of interest and power, would needs have it, that the Fellowship, into which Mr. TILLOTSON had been admitted, was formerly his, tho' the latter told me, he was sure it was not, but one, that was fairly and legally void upon a Fellow's leaving it by cession. But the before said Dr. GUNNING having some personal pique against Mr. TILLOTSON, (though at the same time he said he could scarcely tell, wherein he had disoblig'd him) yet, I say, Dr. GUNNING so wrought with the society, as that they complied with his pretences, and so put Mr. TILLOTSON out of his Fellowship. This, I have heard him say, he had reason to take ill from the society, as not having done him right, but dealing unkindly with him; who, if there had been nothing else in it, deserv'd to have been esteem'd a benefactor to the college, upon such accounts, as I shall touch upon by and by. As for Dr. GUNNING, he was very hot and earnest to put this disrespect upon him; for though he knew, that he was to be chosen Master of *Benet College*, the very next day, upon the vacancy by the death of Dr. LOVE; and though Mr. TILLOTSON's merits to the college were insisted upon and pleaded by some (at least) of the society; yet he was so vehement in the business, as to say, "Let justice be done first, and then, if they were minded to do Mr. TILLOTSON a favour, they might do that afterward."

In the year 1655, Mr. TILLOTSON was appointed to keep the Philosophy Act at the public commencement;

ment ; which he performed to much satisfaction, yea even to admiration.

Soon after, he went to *London*, and was tutor to PRIDEAUX's son or sons, who was then Attorney-general to OLIVER the Protector ; and in that station it came to pass, that he was instrumental in procuring the good to the college intimated before. For, by the Attorney's means, he obtained a thousand pounds to be paid out of the Exchequer to the college for wood and stone prepared for carrying on its building, but seized by the parliament party towards fortifying the castle at *Cambridge* in the time of the war. Moreover, whilst he resided at *London*, it happened, that he fell into acquaintance with an old gentleman, one Mr. DIGGONS, who had formerly been Fellow-commoner of *Clare-Hall*, a very humorous person, and had taken disgust against some of his own relations. With him Mr. TILLOTSON wrought so, as to prevail with him to leave 300 *l. per Annum* to the college.

The college had been then very low, much in debt ; and therefore both these benefits came as seasonably, as they did unexpectedly. Moreover, he told me, that he had received very little or no profit by his Fellowship all the time he was possessed of it ; but let all go to the benefit of the college.

During his abode at *London* in this private state, he improved very much ; among other ways, by hearing the best sermons, and conversing with very worthy persons, as particularly Bishop BROWNRIG, who was then preacher at the *Temple* ; Dr. HACKET, afterwards Bishop of *Litchfield* ; and of the other persuasion, *viz.* Presbyterian, I have heard him profess his great esteem of Dr. BATES, both for his learning and good temper.

He did not appear as a preacher till after the Restoration, 1660, taking orders (as he hath told me) from the old *Scottish* Bishop of *Galloway*, who at

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that time had great recourse made to him on that account. King CHARLES II. was then so favourable to the Presbyterian party, that he offered Bishoprics to some of that persuasion; as to old Mr. CALAMY for one; and Mr. TILLOTSON told me in the year 1661, that the good old man deliberated about it some considerable time, professing to see the great inconvenience of the Presbyterian parity of ministers. And Mr. TILLOTSON said, if Mr. CALAMY had accepted of the Bishopric of *Litchfield*, which was offered him, Dr. BATES had been Dean, and Mr. MILES and himself were designed for two of the Canons. But, as he added also, though Mr. CALAMY was in a manner induc'd to a willingness to have embrac'd the King's offer, yet Mrs. CALAMY being against it, over-ruled her husband, and so the matter went off.

Upon the first beginning of his preaching, he shew'd his great learning, reason, judgment, and abilities. Witness his sermon preach'd at the morning lecture at *St. Giles Cripplegate* in *September*, 1661, on *Matt. vii. 12.* upon which subject he hath treated very judiciously and comprehensively; though I heard him say, he preach'd that sermon for Dr. BATES upon but little warning.

He soon became Lecturer at *St. Laurence Jury*, which he continued till his advancement to the See of *Canterbury*.

In the beginning of the year 1663 he was presented to the parsonage of *Ketton* in *Suffolk*, by Sir THOMAS BARNARDISTON, whose seat is there. It was void by the going out of old Mr. FAIRCLOUGH, upon account of Nonconformity after the *Bartholomew-act* 1662; but he staid there not long, as being chosen preacher at *Lincoln's-Inn* about *Michaelmas* after, and in that station also he continued till his being promoted as above. And how much he esteemed that honourable society, he hath divers ways



ways made public acknowledgment ; and there was no kindness lost between them and him ; for the great men of that house gave a very great deference to him, as is publicly known.

After the preferment of Dr. SETH WARD, minister of *St. Laurence-jury*, to a Bishopric, Dr. JOHN WILKINS succeeded him there, where, as was said, Mr. TILLOTSON being Lecturer, this, as I suppose, gave occasion to a very great intimacy and friendship betwixt that learned and worthy person and Mr. TILLOTSON, which the latter valued not a little.

Dr. WILKINS had a reputation, and that most deservedly, of being a person of extraordinary worth and learning. Besides his skill in divinity, he was accomplish'd in the knowledge of the best philosophy of all sorts, that was in vogue at that time ; not that crabbed disputatious sort of it, which some persons have attain'd to, that have liv'd long in the university ; but that more free, generous, benign, and good humour'd way of philosophizing, that began to appear openly in that age, though it had many opposers and maligners. Dr. WILKINS had been for some years before the happy Restoration of King CHARLES II. the great encourager of this method of philosophizing in *Oxford* ; where he was head of *Wadham College*, and had begun a sort of society for the communicating of experiments in natural philosophy, for the making it useful and beneficial to mankind in the affairs of human life : and when he was made Master of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, he set up a like society there ; and after the coming in of King CHARLES II. was the chief instrument in forming that, which then came to be called the *Royal Society*. Which contrivance, how taking it was, appeared in that so many persons of noblest rank and highest quality, in a short time, enter'd themselves into it, and the King himself vouchsafed to be head of it. What a value the learned and in-

genious of that society had for Dr. WILKINS, appears by its history writ by Dr. SPRAT, by Mr. Hook's *Microscopical experiments*, and divers others of them, that have publish'd their books. As for theology, how able he was, appears by the two little books he put forth about the *Gift of prayer*, and that of *preaching*; the little tract called the *Beauty of providence*, with some sermons before the King, appointed to be printed, his treatise about *natural religion*, and a volume of *sermons* printed since his death.

But that, which made him most remark'd upon, was his great moderation in the points agitated betwixt the Conformists and Nonconformists, about liturgy, ceremonies, &c. which made him become the object of odium and envy to a very great party in our church; *i. e.* all the Bishops and churchmen, that were very high and zealous for the particular establishments in those points; insomuch that he was look'd upon as the head of the *Latitudinarians*, as they were then stiled; *i. e.* persons, that had no great liking for the liturgy or ceremonies, or indeed the government of this church, but yet had attained to such a largeness and freedom of judgment, as that they could conform, tho' without any warmth or affection for these things: And those, that went this way, were look'd upon as the worst and most dangerous enemies of the church of *England*.

Nevertheless this Dr. WILKINS had so well acquitted himself, and had such considerable friends, as that he came to be made Bishop of *Chester* about the year 1669 or 1670. But still persisting in the same moderation and temper, he, together with Lord Chief-Justice HALE, and some very few more, became the promoter of a bill of *comprehension*, as it was called, *viz.* to take in, and comprehend some, at least, of the better temper'd Nonconformists, in a capacity of being restored to the public

lic service of the church. But the project had too many opposers, and so came to be laid aside; and this learned and moderate Bishop lived not long after the rejection of it.

I am sensible, this is a digression from my intended history of Mr. TILLOTSON; but yet it may be useful to the better understanding some passages about him. For Mr. TILLOTSON, by the advantage before observ'd, *viz.* of being Lecturer of that church, whereof the Doctor was Rector,\* came to have the most intimate acquaintance and conversation with him, and married his daughter-in-law.

I remember, that about *May* 1665, being at *Coventry*, I went to wait upon Bishop HACKET, as he was returning from *London* to *Litchfield*; who spoke much to the commendation of Mr. TILLOTSON, as to his learning, and preaching, and particularly prais'd his sermon, then newly printed, called, *The wisdom of being religious*, as the best thing against Atheism, that ever he saw in the compass of a sermon. "But, *said he*, he is now fallen in with "Dr. WILKINS, and is become a Presbyterian, "and enemy of the church of *England*;" or to that purpose: "and, *says he*, he never came to see "me all this time I have been at *London*; whereas "formerly I have conversed with him with great "familiarity." I did by letter acquaint him with the importance of the Bishop's complaint of him, who return'd to me, that the opinion, which I myself had express'd of Dr. WILKINS's worth, was true and just: That the Bishop's fears of himself being become a Presbyterian, were causeless and groundless; for he had long before fix'd his principles about church-government, and was in no likelihood of altering them; and that it was by reason of his much business, that he had not waited on his Lordship when in town.

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\* Vicar.

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He was an eminent encounterer of Atheism and Infidelity, which began very publicly to appear ; and the first specimen he gave of his ability that way, in public, was the fore-mentioned sermon, preach'd before the Lord Mayor at St. Paul's in the year 1663<sup>3</sup> on *Job* xxviii. 28. printed with this title, *The wisdom of being religious.*

Then he set himself also most professedly against Popery, and all the main limbs of it : and his sermons were most clear and distinct upon all the points he undertook, and struck home.

His first public essay and appearance against Popery was his confutation of Mr. J. SARJEANT's book, who with great confidence and assurance thought to build up Popery, and confute Protestantism, by self-evident principles. But Dr. TILLOTSON did so maul and unravel him, as that, tho' Mr. SARJEANT made some kind of faint attempts against him, he could never recover himself of the blows given him ; only whin'd and complain'd.

Next, that noted sermon of his preach'd at *Whitehall*, in the beginning of the year 1672, about the difficulty of salvation in the *Roman* church on *1 Cor.* iii. 15. which, they say, so nettled the Duke of York, who to that time had concealed himself, being a Papist, but in masquerade, and frequented the King's chapel, that afterwards he forsook it, and never more appeared there. It is observable, that this was about that time, when King CHARLES put forth his declaration of indulgence, which he recalled upon the Parliament's address to him against it ; and soon after, in the same session of parliament, or the next after, was passed the first test-act.

Then followed the discovery of the Popish plot, which gave occasion to him to expose the principles of the *Roman* church, as to destroying persons upon account of religion ; which he did notably in that sermon he preach'd before the House of Commons,



mons, on *Luke ix.* 55, 56. *November* the 5th, 1678.

His concern against Popery was exceeding hearty and sincere; he had studied and thoroughly considered the nature, and genius, and tendency of it. He was mighty sensible of the danger this nation was in, of being either wheedled or forced into it. I believe the apprehensions hereof kept him in vehement thoughts and agitations of mind for many years; so that he scarcely ever preach'd a sermon, without some very home-blow against it, or some doctrine or practice of that church; so that he was both hated, and yet feared, by those of that way.

I need not much insist upon his zeal against debauchery and prophaneness; for these he ever sharply reprov'd and expos'd.

It should appear, that he had many good friends; and above all the rest, King CHARLES II. who, as I have heard, much esteem'd him for his preaching. When Dr. TURNER, the Dean of *Canterbury*, died, I have heard, that three very great persons applied to the King to make him Dean of *Canterbury*<sup>d</sup>. The King was then just going for *Newmarket*, and put them all off till his return. Upon which, when he came to hear them propose the person, on whose behalf they spoke, it appear'd, that they all concurr'd in Dr. TILLOTSON. The great persons, that besought the King, were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that then was, Dr. SHELDON, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Berkley*; which when the King understood, and that they did it not by any mutual correspondence, but each one out of their own particular

<sup>d</sup> It appears from a MS. account of the public transactions, in the possession of the right honourable the Lord Viscount *Weymouth*, that the King was gone to *Newmarket* on the 3d of *Oct.* 1672, five days before the death of Dr. TURNER; upon which Dr. TILLOTSON was named as standing fairest to succeed him in the Deanry; as he did immediately after his Majesty's return to *Whitehall* on the 19th of that month.

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particular respect to the Doctor, he was very well pleased, and so preferred him very readily. So also he preferred him after to be one of the Residentiaries of *St. Paul's*, at the same time, that Dr. SANCROFT, Dean of *St. Paul's*, was made Archbishop, and Dr. STILLINGFLEET Dean in his stead.

About the years 1680 and 81, when, after the discovery of the Popish plot, things began to be turned the quite contrary way, and great heats arose between the Tories and Whigs, the Dean of *Canterbury* still persisted in his former way of zeal against popery, and moderation towards Dissenters, and preserving himself as unconcerned, as might be, in those heats. He had then a difficult task of it, and lay under suspicions and censures; partly for sticking close to Lord RUSSEL, visiting him in prison, and accompanying him to the scaffold, and there praying with and for him. Dr. BURNET was fain to leave the kingdom upon that and some such like accounts, and betake himself to travel, not returning till he came in with the Prince of *Orange* in 1688. But Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE, however it came to pass, became the Dean's advocate, vindicating him in his *animadversions* upon Lord RUSSEL's paper.

What by reason of the heats and divisions, that were among people, and what because of the much company, that flock'd in to him, the town was become very uneasy to him; and therefore he bought a house at *Edmonton*, whither he might retire, and be a little more private: Which accordingly he did for the most part for five or six years, viz. the last part of King CHARLES's reign, and the short reign of King JAMES the II<sup>d</sup>, which, we may easily understand, were become very adverse and opposite to him. Yet all that time he continued his preaching both at *Lincolns-Inn* and at *St. Laurence*, with his usual freedom, or rather with greater zeal and fervency,

vency, to confirm his auditors against Popery. And, blessed be God, as many adversaries as he had, and those great ones too, yet God was with him; so that none of them set upon him to hurt or molest him, so far as I ever heard.

Upon the wonderful deliverance of this nation from Popery and arbitrary power, by the extraordinary providence of God, and, under the same, by the matchless expedition of the Prince of *Orange* anno 1688, he soon shewed his affection, and delivered his sense of it, in his sermon at *Lincoln's-Inn* upon *Ezra* ix. 13, 14. preach'd on the thanksgiving-day appointed for that occasion: Upon which day appointed for the country, I myself also preach'd on the very same text. In that sermon he said, that nothing could obstruct our happy settlement, except some mistaken principles concerning allegiance, with other remarkable expressions.

I have heard, that when some Bishoprics were vacant, and he was offered one by King *WILLIAM*, he answered, that had he been in such health and vigour, as to be able to manage the duties of the Episcopal function, he would not have declined the office; but he found decays in himself, and so desired to be excused.

When *Dr. STILLINGFLEET* was made Bishop of *Worcester*, he was made Dean of *St. Paul's*; which, the Bishop of *Salisbury* in his funeral sermon for him intimates, was, because he was not willing to have more than one single preferment; and that his holding two, viz. the Deanry of *Canterbury*, and one of the residentiary-Prebends of *St. Paul's*, was rather in compliance with the times, and because he would not decline what was so frankly offered him by King *CHARLES II.* than out of any inclination or liking of his own.

Next, upon the Nonjurant Bishops altogether refusing to come into the government of their Majesties,

jesties, he, after much reluctancy, was at length prevailed with by the King and Queen to accept the Archbishopric of *Canterbury*. How he carried himself in that high station, is better known to the world than to myself, being at so great a distance, and having had no correspondence with him. What I shall add further, shall only be something concerning his character; which yet I am sensible I am insufficient to give, for the reasons now mentioned, were there no other.

He was a person of unblemish'd conversation, not to be charged with any either intemperance, or covetousness, or any other vice whatsoever; which, as they are spots even in a layman's life, so they appear much more foul in a clergyman. He lived well upon the incomes of his preferments, kept a good table, and was hospitable and charitable; did not enrich himself, nor lay up much money: And 'tis said, that his advancement to the Metropolitcal See, as he managed matters, did not increase, but much diminished his estate. For he enjoy'd it not full four years, and besides the first-fruits\*, which are high, and other public payments, he built an apartment for his Lady, paid a considerable debt of Archbishop SANCROFT's, kept a very splendid and plentiful table, was bountiful and charitable in relieving the poor, besides other ways of draining his purse. He was not a man, that valued the world, or laboured to be rich, or studied his temporal interest; but, as he taught others, so he lived above the world, and the advantages of it; knew how to use it, so as not to abuse it.

He was one of a very sweet nature, friendly and obliging, and ready to serve his friends any way that he could by his interest and authority, when they applied to him; and this he did freely and generously,

\* These were forgiven the Archbishop. See above, p. 345.



rously, without any oblique designs to serve himself.

He was very affable and conversable, not four or fullen, not proud or haughty, not addicted to any thing of moroseness, affected gravity, or to keep at a great distance from those, that were much his inferiors; but open and free, gentle and easy, pleasant and amiable, to those especially, that he was acquainted with, or that he look'd upon as honest and good.

His common and familiar discourse was witty and facetious, but very inoffensive; not at all biting or disobliging; nothing, that was vain or trifling, nothing calumniatory or reflecting upon others reputation, absent or present, passed from him; and even as to those, that differed from him, he was fair and candid in his censures of them.

His more grave discourses were very weighty; he spoke apophthegms; was very serious in giving good counsels, or resolving doubts, or recommending religion and virtue.

He was wise and prudent in his whole deportment, speaking and acting all things with great evenness and steadiness, not with blustering or temerity, or so as to give just offence to any. He understood human nature well, and how ill any take it to be slighted or disrespected; and therefore he was obliging to all, disobliging to none, so far as it was possible. And yet this his wisdom was so temper'd with uprightness and sincerity, that he appeared not in the least to be crafty or designing. He was greatly esteemed for his integrity, and therefore intrusted by divers great persons in the management of their affairs and concernments; made their Executor or Trustee for the governing of their estates, preserving them to their children, or otherwise to such purposes, as they had appointed by their wills.

As he was eminent in these and the like homiletical virtues, so he was very much esteemed for them by persons of all ranks, especially by those of higher rank and quality. He had a mighty respect paid him in *London*, and his company and conversation were very much desired and valued.

In reference to those notorious differences among us upon account of Conformity and Nonconformity, I have intimated before how moderate he was: *His moderation was known unto all men*; it was his peculiar virtue, as it had been Bishop WILKINS's also. He was naturally dispos'd to it, as I may say, having had, as Bishop BURNET saith, his first education among the Puritans, even as it was Bishop WILKINS's lot also, being grandson to the famous Mr. DOD, and in his minority instructed by him. Our Archbishop indeed had not any near relation, so far as I ever heard, of the function of a Clergyman, that was of that persuasion; his father being a layman, a Clothier of good repute, living at *Sowerby* near *Hallifax*, and reckoned to be a Puritan, as they were called in the time before the late wars. But as I have partly noted before, his son got out of the prejudices of his education, when but a very young man in *Cambridge*, divers years before the restoration in 1660, or any prospect of it, when the temptation, as to the hopes of favour and preferment, lay the quite other way; and so consequently he could not be thought to have changed his judgment in that respect, upon any sway or motive of advancing himself in temporal concernments; no, but on the contrary, upon weighty reasons, when he came to be of years and capacity to settle his principles in religion, and to make it a matter of choice, not of education only. And when he saw cause so to do, he did not warp too much to the other extream, to become a bigoted zealot for the church and hierarchy, as many have done;

done ; but, like a wise and good man, made a discrimination, kept to what was good in the Puritans, their pious strictness, their renunciation of the public vices of swearing, drunkenness, debauchery, licentiousness of manners, &c. only relinquish'd their mistakes, their placing too much religion in little distinctions and singularities, and their odd aversions to the church-government, liturgy, and ceremonies.

And moreover that, which I mainly drive at, he did not so espouse the way of Conformity, as to take up such a hatred and abhorrence of the persons of the Puritans, or of their party, as to cry out against them, as a company of hypocrites, factious villains, and a party not to be suffered, but rather to be doom'd to rods and axes, to be pursued with the severest punishments, as one did, who came from that party, viz. Dr. SAMUEL PARKER in his *Ecclesiastical polity*. But our Doctor having known many of them himself to have been honest and sincere in the main, and at the bottom, tho' misled, and held under almost invincible prejudices, he had a tender respect, and a great compassion for them ; and therefore thought they were rather to be instructed with meekness, and reduc'd by gentle and fair methods to a good opinion of this church, and the orders and constitutions of it, than to be continually pelted with sharp reflections from the pulpit, or rigorously dealt with by the execution of penal laws. And therefore I remember it was the counsel he gave myself in the year 1661, not to be sharp upon that party in sermons or other discourses, nor to cry up the liturgy or ceremonies ; but to preach true Christianity, and to take heed to govern my own conversation well ; “ for, *said he*, good preaching and good living will gain upon people : If a  
“ man join these two, they will at length come to  
“ like

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“ like his religion and his way, and so their aver-  
“ sions will in time wear off.”

As to himself, as he did most eminently practise the advice, which he gave me, so doubtless he was the most successful man, in his endeavours this way, of all others in this whole church and nation; at least beyond any one man, having been an instrument of reducing great numbers of Dissenters, both Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists, into the church; and of preserving other Dissenters, especially Nonconforming ministers, whom he could not so far work upon as wholly to gain them, yet from being troublesome to the church, bringing them to some temper and moderation. Yea, I think I may say moreover with truth, that tho’ some other worthy and excellent persons of the *London* clergy have had their share in this commendation, yet he above all the rest, by God’s blessing, hath been the chief and prime agent to preserve the greatest part of that vast body of the citizens of *London* from running into extravagancies against the government of our church, upon divers unhappy emergencies and conjunctures, that have happened in the space of 30 years last past; his example and excellent preaching, as well as his more private way of treating with particular persons, having been so influential upon them.

Nor hath his moderation been only beneficial to this church, but hath extended likewise to the Reformed churches beyond the seas. For such hath been the height of some of our *Altitudinarian* divines, as that they have not stuck to challenge them as being no churches, for want of Episcopal government; as particularly that learned person, Mr. DODWELL, in his book about *Schism*, and his other book, *One Priesthood, one Altar*. About which I remember, that having some discourse with our late Archbishop above ten years ago, he told me, that  
Mr.



Mr. DODWELL brought his book to himself to peruse, before he put it into the press, and desired him to give him his judgment of it: That he freely told him his dislike of it; and that tho' it was writ with such great accuracy and close dependance of one proposition upon another, as that it seem'd to be little less than demonstration, "so that (saith he) I can hardly tell you, where it is, that you break the chain; yet I am sure, that it is broken somewhere; for such and such particulars are so palpably false, that I wonder you do not feel the absurdity of them; they are so gross, and grate so much upon the inward sense." And I remember also, he said, that Mr. DODWELL was run into one extreme as much as Mr. BAXTER (against whom Mr. DODWELL's books were wrote) had done into the other; adding moreover, that they were much alike in their tempers and opinions in one respect, tho' they were most wide and opposite one to another in their tenets; namely, that both of them loved to abound in their own sense, and could by no means be brought off their own apprehensions and thoughts, but would have them to be the rule and standard for all other mens.

Notwithstanding this his charity towards Dissenters, he was far from inclining towards any of their peculiar opinions or ways, or so much as encouraging them therein. Any one, that reads his sermons with understanding, may easily discern it. He is sometimes pretty tart in censuring the hypocrisy of some of that party; in exposing their peevishness and faction. And as to their peculiar tenets, he sometimes reprov'd them, and at other times rescu'd and clear'd the truth from their mistakes. So that no sober or intelligent person can think, that he was partial towards them, though he had a great zeal to remove their prejudices, and to bring them into the communion of this church.

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I know, that some of our church formerly have not been able to endure scarcely so much as the word *moderation* in reference to the constitutions of it: particularly, as to the ceremonies, have condemned both name and thing, and have look'd upon all persons, that have gone that way, with an evil and jealous eye, as the betrayers of the church, as those, that destroy its power: "for, *say* they, the church's power lies in the appointing of rites and ceremonies for decency, order, and solemnity in divine worship, so as none of the said ceremonies be evidently contrary to scripture, or in themselves superstitious, or tend to any immorality; and therefore take away its authority in such appointments, and you destroy the church's power, and undermine its government." Such persons have censured this great man upon this account, as no friend to this church, because he declar'd himself freely, as willing to relax in some things, rather than break the peace both of church and state by a too stiff adherence to them, and imposition of them. And I remember, that soon after he had preach'd and printed a sermon on *John* xiii. 34, 35. to his countrymen, the natives of *Yorksire*, at their feast, in the year 1678, in which endeavouring to persuade the Dissenters to come into the union of this church upon this account, because of the great division, that their standing off caused in the bowels of it, at that time, when the Papists made such great use of our dissensions towards the furthering of their design to destroy the church, root and branch, he said to this purpose: "I am persuaded, that the governors of our church are persons of such great piety and prudence, as that they could be content to yield up some things to the prejudices and weakness, yea, even some little things, to the importunities of those, that are otherwise minded, for

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“ peace-fake, if that would do the business, &c.” I say, I remember that upon this passage, a Doctor, that I was in company with, expressed himself very much dissatisfied with it; saying, what had he to do, being but a private Doctor, to undertake this without the consent of his superiors? And since that time, in the Convocation, since their Majesties King WILLIAM’s and Queen MARY’s accession to the crown, the same accusation has been renewed against him, that he was the head of that party, which was for altering the liturgy in compliance with the Non-conformists, to make way for their coming into our communion. And so they look’d upon his moderation aforesaid, rather as his vice than his virtue: for they think the very establishment of the church upon the reformation was moderate enough, and needs to make no further abatement, unless it were oblig’d to moderate again and again, and so till the whole constitution be destroyed; for to be sure it can never be moderated so, but some peevish spirits will clamour for further mitigations, till they have brought all to confusion. Hence this great man was look’d upon rather as an enemy to the church, than fit to be made a pillar of it. For so I remember I have heard some say, when it was first discours’d, that he was to be made Archbishop of Canterbury, *actum est de Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ.*

But notwithstanding these formidable suggestions against him and his known moderation; yet, as on the one side, ’tis not probable, that he had any secret design against this church, or that his temper and moderation had any direct tendency towards its destruction, or was of ill influence that way; so, on the other side, moderation in churchmen and church-governors must be allowed to be a great virtue, as well as in other Christians. This might be shewed from the example of our Saviour, the Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος and Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος of it. His government

is compared to the meek and gentle conduct of a shepherd, which imports great moderation: His kingdom is typified in the peaceable kingdom of SOLOMON, which was predicted and decyphered *Psal. lxxii.* He came to ease the church of those heavy burdens, which *Moses* had laid upon it; to remove the ceremonial law, and moderate the rigour even of the moral law itself, and turn it into the royal law of liberty. He proposed himself as a pattern of great gentleness and condescension to ecclesiastical governors, *Matt. xx. 25, 26, &c.* Now, what was this, but practising and teaching moderation, and recommending it to all his ministers and ambassadors? And this pattern of his was followed by his apostles, every one of them singly; and even when they were met in council, their decrees savour'd wholly of moderation, and tended to preserve peace and unity in the church: "It seem'd good unto us (say they) being assembled together with one accord: It seem'd good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things, &c." *Acts xv. 25.* which were but few, and necessary for the peace of the church at that time: So that if we consider these great and undoubted patterns, it appears, that moderation, gentleness, indulgence, and great condescension, are very considerable virtues in church-men.

Especially if we add the pattern of *St. Paul*, next to that of our Saviour, the greatest; who proposes his own example to that purpose; *even as I* (says he) *please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved,* *1 Cor. x. 33.* and again at large, *1 Cor. ix. 19, 20, 21, 22.* And especially it is observable, how he suffered himself to be persuaded to a compliance with the advice of *St. James Bishop of Jerusalem,* *Acts xxi.* to purify himself after the *Jewish* manner; and



and how great a zeal he had for his countrymen the *Jews*, of whom he bare record, that they had a zeal of God, though not according to knowledge. How desirous he was to have brought them within the church and to the faith of Christ ; and therefore had a mighty tenderness for them. And can it be a fault in our Archbishop, if having been bred amongst Puritans, as his adversaries object, and make his crime ; if he, I say, had such a great concern for those of that way, as having known doubtless many of them, that he believed were honestly and uprightly minded at the bottom, tho' carried away by a mistaken zeal ? What if he had strained a little with the farthest, towards gaining them into the church ? Should any condemn him for this ? Would they not after that rate censure even St. *Paul* himself ?

I could easily add many things more in defence of this great man's moderation ; but I will add no more than this, that I believe his successor, the now most worthy Archbishop, will be found to walk in much the same way, and to tread in the same steps, as well as other excellent Bishops and worthy Presbyters of this church, who yet intend not the least to subvert it, or to weaken ecclesiastical authority.

I have done with his character ; and shall only add something further concerning his preaching, and then conclude with application to myself, which was my principal end in writing these memoirs.

He was deservedly esteemed one of the best, if not rather absolutely the very best, Preacher of this age ; especially considering how frequent and constant his employment was that way ; his sermons being full of good sense, judicious, solid, close, and very intelligible ; his language masculine, but not bombast ; his notions for the most part very clear ; lying even to the understandings of attentive hearers. Those, that were duly qualified, heard him with

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delight; for they thought they knew the things before; and yet they were not obvious to common invention. Some have called him a rational Preacher, as indeed he was in the best sense. He understood human nature, and natural divinity, and true morality very well; and therefore there was something in the hearts and consciences of men not debauch'd, that mov'd them to give assent and consent to what he spoke, as being agreeable, and connatural, as I may say, to the common reason and faculties of mankind, to that νόμος ἑσχαπτος, that law of God written and engraven upon man's heart: And there is no teaching like that of enabling them to teach themselves. His composures were no jargon, or cant; did not consist of phrases or forms of words suited to any sect, or party of men, or that had little real matter in them. It was one thing, that he disliked in the Nonconformists, that they used divers distinctive phrases and expressions, that seemed to have some sublime meaning; when, if search'd to the bottom, they were scarce sense, or however might be better expressed in more plain and intelligible words: As when they taught men to *roll upon Christ*\*, and *act faith*, and the like; the plain sense of which is, to trust in him, and believe in him.

He was a practical preacher. His discourses generally aim'd, either to excite in men an awful sense of God, and to enkindle devotion towards him, or to stir up to a holy, religious, and virtuous conversation: Which certainly is the great end of Christian religion, above all other religions, that are, or ever were in the world. He seldom preach'd controversies, except those between us and the church of *Rome*; which indeed he did purposely, when he saw there was an absolute necessity for it by reason of the danger

\* This was a favourite expression of many of the old Puritans, founded probably on the marginal translation of *Psalms* XXII. 8. and XXXVII. 5.

danger of Popery getting the upper-hand and prevailing, either by fraud, or by being forcibly thrust upon the nation. And when he did treat on these points, he did it to purpose, giving the *Romish* tennets each of them a killing blow before he left them. And as for practical subjects, I believe there were few remarkable texts of Scripture, either of the Old or New Testament, or however few heads of practical divinity, but he handled them at one time or other in the course of his preaching. And for this reason, some would call him a moral preacher, as a diminution to him, as if he preach'd moral virtue rather than grace: But this is but a calumny upon him. He did not indeed treat upon the inexplicable and ineffable operations of grace, as some have taken upon them to do, but with what good effect I cannot tell. They might have good intentions, I do not deny, but the effect has been to teach men to dispute, rather than to live; if not worse, namely, to possess mens minds with a kind of semi-enthusiasm, and putting them upon enquiry after marks of election in themselves, which when they think they have discovered, they have grown something too proud and conceited of themselves, and despised others, that they thought had them not, and have too much neglected the duties of a good life, especially of love, and charity, and justice; it being observable, that such have been generally *Antinomians*, thinking themselves freed from the strict obligation to moral duties. As for this our great preacher, I dare say, that he magnified divine grace, and taught men to pray and labour for, and make use of those assistances thereof, which God offers to them, and will bestow upon those, that heartily and sincerely do so.

But then also he knew, that Christians are under indispensable obligations to lead good lives in all respects, both towards God, men, and themselves.

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To which purpose I remember a notion he told me now above 30 years ago, *viz.* that Christianity, as to the practical part of it, was nothing else but the religion of nature, or pure morality<sup>w</sup>, save only praying and making all our addresses to God in the name, and through the mediation of our Saviour, and the use of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; "and, *said he*, want of understanding and practising according to this principle hath broken the peace of *Christendom*, and it can never be restored till this principle and notion obtain again." And if this notion be true, as I believe any capable and considering person, that weighs the precepts of the Gospel, will think it is, the *Antinomians* must both unchristian and unman themselves, while they look upon themselves as disoblig'd from strict morality. So that one may see, how ill requited he was by the Nonconformists for all his kindness and moderation towards them, while they affix'd such oblique reflections upon him.

But how generally and universally his preaching was esteem'd, appear'd by those crouds of auditors, that attended it, and especially of the Clergy at his Lectures at St. *Laurence*; and many, that heard him on Sunday at *Lincoln's-Inn*, went joyfully to St. *Laurence* on Tuesday, hoping they might hear the same sermon again. The audience generally stood, or sat, with the greatest attention, and even waited upon his discourses, hanging upon his lips. One should hardly see a wandering eye among them; and when his sermons were ended, they went away with satisfied minds, and glad hearts, and chearful countenances,

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<sup>w</sup> This notion is explain'd by the Archbishop in his first sermon on *Matt. XI* 6. near the beginning, and in that on *Matt. XX* 13. among his posthumous sermons in the 2d Volume of his Works in fol.



In his expositions of scripture, he principally followed GROTIUS, of whom I have heard him say, that his *Annotations*, upon the *four Evangelists* especially, were worth their weight in gold. He had a great dexterity in expounding scripture by scripture, for, like APOLLOS, he was a *man mighty in the scriptures*. The Bible was his treasury, from whence he fetch'd not only the matter and strength of his sermons, but even his rhetoric and way of convincing and persuading, as accounting the word of God quick and powerful, sharper than a two-edged sword, piercing into the souls, searching into the hearts, and criticising upon the consciences and most inward thoughts of men: And yet he was none of those, that criticis'd upon the words and phrases of scripture, or studied to force any far-fetched interpretations upon them. His paraphrases or sensing any passages were always very genuine, and tending to render them intelligible.

The method of his sermons was generally apt and easy, very well fitted both to the understandings and memories of intelligent hearers; and in handling the several heads, his endeavour was to make all things clear, to bring truth into open light; and his arguments of persuasion were strong and nervous, and tended to gain the affections by the understanding: and those, that heard him with attention, must either be persuaded to become good, or else they must do violence to their best faculties, and notoriously act contrary to their own reason. So that if, under GOD, his word did not save them, yet it would be sure to judge them, and leave them without excuse. Thus, as St. PAUL, he did in his preaching *commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God*.

Such a wife, such an able workman did this great Preacher approve himself to be, and one, that *needed not to be ashamed*. And I am persuaded, that  
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by God's great blessing upon his labours, he was an instrument of doing as much good in his station and generation, as any one of his contemporaries in the sacred function whosoever. He made no ostentation of his learning, though 'tis well known it was very considerable: He did not preach CHRIST or his Gospel out of envy. He did not expose other men or parties: He sought not glory of men; but devoted himself intirely to glorify and serve God with his spirit, in the Gospel of his Son. His great design was to make men wisely religious, and every way virtuous and good; to have their conversations honest, and to keep good consciences void of offence both towards God and towards men. As indeed one of his main arguments to persuade men to be good, was the testimony of a good conscience, and the inward peace that arises from it.

Thus I have endeavoured to offer at giving a character of his temper and life, and also of his way and manner of preaching; which yet I know how very short and defective it is. I myself could have added a great deal more, very much from my own knowledge and observation, though, as I said before, I have so very seldom seen or conversed with him since I was under his tuition, that I am not one of the most competent for the task. But I hope the public will have a full account of him from some worthy hand, that knew him intimately, and convers'd long with him, and that hath been capable of making closer observations, and can better decypher him than I. And if such a thing be done, I am persuaded it would be a very worthy work; would do right to his memory, and propose an excellent pattern to all of his function in this and future ages.

I do not believe this great man to have been absolutely perfect, or wholly devoid of all faults and blemishes: nor certainly did he ever think so of himself; for he had this virtue to embellish and grace  
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all his other virtues and perfections, namely, to be very humble in his whole deportment: He had nothing of pride or fastuousness, no not so much as in his spirit, so far as ever appeared to me in my strictest observation of him. He did not boast or magnify himself, or lift up himself above his brethren. He was very contrite before God; a mourner in secret for his own and others sins. He was meek and lowly of heart. I will but say only this one thing more, that upon a very serious review upon all, that I have known by myself, or heard from others, that were worthy, ingenuous, and credible persons, concerning either his temper, or conversation, or management of affairs, or any way in reference to his function, I never saw or heard from such persons as before, of any false step he made; any thing, that argued him insincere; any thing, that was scandalous, or of ill report; but on the contrary, very laudable and imitable. What secret defects he might have, was known to God and himself: and I believe he could say with St. PAUL, *I know nothing by myself* (nothing inconsistent with that uprightness, that is attainable by man in this life) *yet am I not hereby justified.*

I have heard indeed, that this great man hath been libelled and rallied, and, I think, I once saw at *London* some ten years ago or upward, some sorry insinuations against him in print to that purpose; most of which were false in my own knowledge. But this I will say concerning this matter, that certainly they, who either publicly defam'd him, or more secretly slandered him, and spoke evil of him, or detracted from his worth, either they never knew him, but only gratify'd their own and others spite and malice against him; or, if they did know him, they only betray'd a more devilish nature, and prosecuted him with hatred, because he was so good. But, as the reverend Dean of *St. Paul's* tells, that  
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he having bundled up all the libels against him, and writ upon the outside, " I pray God forgive the " authors of them ; I do ; " so I wish the same, and grant them repentance, that they may be forgiven.

I should have given some description of the very form and lineaments of his body ; the habitation, where his sweet and good mind dwelt for near 65 years. His countenance was fair and very amiable ; his face round, his eyes vivid, and his air and aspect quick and ingenuous ; all which were the index of his excellent soul and spirit. His hair brown and bushy : he was moderately tall ; very slender and sparing in his youth ; his constitution but tender and frail to outward appearance. He became corpulent and fat, when grown in age, which increased more and more as long as he lived ; but yet was neither a burden to himself, nor in the least unseemly to others. The vigour of his mind, and perspicacity of his understanding, continued to his last seizure, and his knowledge and remembrance to his death, as I have been told : Which said seizure was indeed very sudden, and soon proceeded to make an end of his life ; tho' I believe it was no surprize to himself, being habitually prepared for death ; a life, which had been so beneficial to the church, and to this nation. And had God been pleased to have prolonged it, as also that of our late gracious Queen, who soon followed after him, as she had much revered and valued him, we might have expected to have seen and experienced greater public benefits by their conjunction and farther concurrence for the establishing of the church, and reformation of the lives and manners both of the clergy and people, and of procuring a greater union and charity among us. However their endeavours would not have been wanting, which, considering their high wisdom and gracious good tempers, join'd with their authority,



one might have been almost assured would have prov'd successful. But God's will is done, and we must all acquiesce in it without murmuring or gain-saying, tho' we cannot but closely reflect upon and lament our great sins, that rendered the nation unworthy of the longer enjoyment of such invaluable blessings. Only we have reason to hope the mercies of God are not come utterly to an end towards us, in that he hath by his gracious providence, and the great wisdom of our King and the late excellent Queen, raised up such a worthy person to succeed him in the Primacy; one indeed fit to follow him, as having much of the same temper and spirit in him; and I am persuaded, he will not pull down what his predecessor had in his heart to have builded up. And so likewise praised be God, who hath supported and comforted the heart of our gracious King, under that almost insupportable stroke of losing his Consort, the joint partner of his Throne and most weighty burthen of government. And may the hand of the Almighty hold him fast, and his arm strengthen him, and make him as a polished shaft in his quiver; and grant, that his heart may not fail nor be discouraged, until, under God, he shall have planted righteousness and peace in the earth, in these and other nations of *Europe*, now confederate with him.

And now I conclude these memoirs of this great and most worthy person, with a short application to myself. He was always an example to me in his life, though my weakness, and low understanding and abilities, did not make me capable of coming near such a pattern in any tolerable measure or degree. The esteem, the honour, the reverence, and love I had for him, made me constantly to remember him, to pray for him, and praise God, that he was pleased to dispose me under such a worthy tutor; and it hath been matter of sorrow and regret  
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to me, that I too little valued such a blessing whilst I enjoy'd it ; that I did not make the proficiency, which I might have done under his tuition, whilst I had his example before my eyes, and might have learnt more by him and from him. But this is but too common a fault, that we do not prize nor improve such blessings, as we ought, whilst they are present with us. But for many years I may truly say, that I have most affectionately lov'd him, and have thought many times, that I could hardly live, if he were dead ; though as to temporal matters, saving his good word, or the like, I never received any favour from him. I confess I have sometimes requested him to remember my son, which he was pleas'd to say he would in due time, tho' it seems he lived not to have opportunity to do it. But I pass that, and do not at all think it any unkind neglect of him or myself ; nor doth his omission in this respect in any degree lessen my esteem of his memory. But I say truly that, which hath been my inward sense, that I after a sort lived in him : He was, under God, in my own thoughts, my crown and my joy, my guard, my sweet ornament ; as indeed I cannot think I am so wise, or so well fortified, now he is gone.

But since he is gone, and, I doubt not, to be exceeding happy with God and CHRIST ; and being that he hath left such a precious memory and example to survive him now he is dead, I ought much more to remember him, and propose the pattern of his temper and life to my own imitation, as that, which next to that of my Saviour, and his blessed Apostles, I hope will most sensibly affect me. Let me labour to imitate his great wisdom, his blameless and unspotted life ; his humility, his meekness, his sweetness of temper, his obligingness, and readiness to do good ; his excellent preaching, so far as I am able ; his constancy to good principles, his mode-  
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ration and candour ; his looseness from the love of the world, and earthly riches ; his unwearied diligence in preaching, and that from such principles, by such rules, and to such ends, as he did.

To conclude, though I have but a short time to live, yet God grant me for the short remainder of my life, that he of his mercy and patience shall afford me, hereafter to make some improvement of these memorials, which I have now set down concerning him ; that so I may attain to be one, tho' the very meanest, of that numerous and blessed company, where his spirit now is, thro' the merits of my dearest Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*



## A P P E N D I X.

## N U M B E R II.

*Notes upon, and Additions to, the Life of Archbishop  
TILLOTSON.*

PAGE 23. l. 3. from the bottom [For he was never capable of committing his sermons to memory.] This assertion is probably too general, for though Bishop BURNET in his *Funeral sermon* on the Archbishop, p. 14. informs us, that his Grace *read his sermons*, which I have always heard confirm'd by those, who remember'd him in the Pulpit; yet in an anonymous Letter, containing some particulars relating to him, sent to me *March* the 2d, 1753, I have received the following account: That the writer of it was informed by Doctor MAYNARD, his Grace's immediate successor at *Lincoln's-Inn*, that he finding the Archbishop one day in his study with some papers before him, his Grace told him, that he was looking over some sermons, with a design to print them: *For*, said he, *when a man has a little reputation for preaching, they will be printing them, when he is dead.* The Dr. observing to him, that he was glad, that he had preserved his sermons, because he always thought, that his Grace had preach'd from short notes only, the Archbishop replied, that he had always written every word, before he preach'd it; but us'd to get it by heart, till he found, that it heated his head so much a day or two before and after he preach'd, that he was forc'd to leave it off. The Doctor likewise acquainted the writer of the Letter to me, that Dr. WAKE, at the same time preacher at *Gray's-Inn*, one day told him, that



that he was resolved to preach no longer without book, since every body, even Dr. TILLOTSON, had now left it off.

Pape 29. l. 14. on the Words his [Friendship with Dr. WILKINS, &c.]

The anonymous Letter to me already cited informs me, that the writer of it had often heard it pleasantly related, that when Dr. WILKINS propos'd Mr. TILLOTSON to his daughter, upon her desiring to be excus'd, he said to her, " BETTY, you shall have him; for he is the best polemical Divine this day in *England*." But upon this story it may be remark'd, that Mr. TILLOTSON did not appear in the world under the character of a *polemical Divine*, till two years after his marriage, which was in *February* 166 $\frac{3}{4}$ , his *Rule of Faith*, in answer to SARJEANT, not being publish'd till 1666.

Page 64. l. 29. Before the words [It was probably, &c.] add: A discourse having been drawn up on occasion of some of the passages excepted to in the Dean's sermon, and sent to him; he return'd them with the following letter to Mr. BAXTER, the original of which was communicated to me by a learned Friend.

June 2, 1680.

" Reverend Sir,

" I Received your letter, and the papers inclosed,  
" which having perused, I do now return. And  
" I cannot think myself to be really much concerned  
" in them, because they grant all along, that the  
" obligation of duty ceaseth, where there is no pro-  
" bability of success: and this principle is the true  
" ground and bottom of my assertion. So that unless  
" upon the same principle opposite conclusions can  
" be built, there must be some mistake in the rea-  
" soning of one side. But whether I be really  
" concern'd in it or not, I have great reason to  
E e " think,

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“ think, that it will generally be believed, that  
 “ this discourse is particularly designed against me ;  
 “ and that the same malice, which raised so  
 “ groundless a clamour against my late sermon,  
 “ will be very glad to find me struck at in the odi-  
 “ ous company of SPINOSA and Mr. HOBBS, as  
 “ of the same atheistical principles with them ; a  
 “ blow, which I least expected, and for that reason  
 “ should be very much surprized, to receive from  
 “ your hand. I could be glad to meet with that  
 “ kindness and candour, which I have ever used  
 “ towards others. But if that may not be, I must  
 “ content myself with the conscience of having en-  
 “ deavoured to deserve well of all men, and of the  
 “ truth itself. I am, Sir, with great sincerity, as  
 “ I have always been,

“ Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

“ JO. TILLOTSON.”

This Letter seems to have prevented the publi-  
 cation of the discourse mentioned in it ; and appears  
 to have been the chief, if not only, foundation of a  
 story related by Dr. HICKES<sup>a</sup>, in his own manner,  
 as a proof, that the Dean's tenderness for the Dissent-  
 ers was much greater than for those of the church ;  
 for that he made them satisfaction for the scandal,  
 which his sermon on *Joshua xxiv. 15.* had given them,  
 but would never do any thing to remove the offence  
 given to his brethren of the church. The Dr. tells  
 us, that he came to know this secret by an honour-  
 able person of his acquaintance, who happening to  
 give Dr. Cox<sup>b</sup> a visit presently after Dr. STILLING-

FLEET

<sup>a</sup> Some discourses, p. 49, 50.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. THOMAS COX, who after having taken the degree of  
 Dr. of Physic at Padua in Dec. 1641. was incorporated in it at  
 Oxford on the 15th of October 1646, and afterwards Fellow of  
 the College of Physicians, and at last President of it ; but  
 was depriv'd of that in October 1683, for being *whiggishly in-*  
*clin'd*, as Mr. WOOD informs us, *Fasti Oxon. vol. II. col. 54.*

FLEET had publish'd his sermon, intituled, *The Mischief of separation*, preach'd before the Lord-Mayor at St. Paul's, on the 2d of May, 1680, found Mr. BAXTER at his House vehemently inveighing both against it and him<sup>c</sup>. " This, adds Dr. HICKES, " gave occasion to that Gentleman to ask him, why " he was so severe upon that sermon, and the author of it, and yet took no notice of another, " which was newly come out, and which he thought " had given the men of his party as much offence, " as it did to those of the church of *England*? *What sermon is that?* said Mr. BAXTER. It is the " Dean of *Canterbury's* Court-sermon, *saieth he*, " wherein he tells you, that *you must not affront the established religion, nor openly draw men off from the profession of it.* Oh! replied Mr. BAXTER, *he gave us great offence indeed, but he hath cried, peccavi, and made us satisfaction.* But your other Dean is a proud haughty man, that will retract nothing. The Gentleman having finished his visit, took leave of the Dr. and Mr. BAXTER; and the same day called upon the Dean of St. Paul's, to give an account of what had passed betwixt him and Mr. BAXTER; and finding the Dean of *Canterbury* with him, told the story to them both. Upon which the Dean of *Paul's* asked the Dean of *Canterbury*, *And, did you in good earnest cry peccavi to Mr. BAXTER?* *Pish!* replies he, *will you mind what Mr. BAXTER saith?* But the Dean of *Paul's* not being satisfied with that evasive answer, press'd him to a categorical answer; upon which his countenance altering, he went away in disorder, without any reply." What judgment is to be form'd of the truth of the circumstances of this story, will appear from comparing it with the Dean of *Canter-*

E e 2

*bury's*

<sup>c</sup> Mr. BAXTER published an *Answer to Dr. STILLING-LEET's charge of separation*, at London in 1680, in 4to.

bury's own letter to Mr. BAXTER just given, by which it is evident, that he neither *cry'd peccavi*; nor had any reason, upon being question'd about the affair, to *go away in disorder without any reply*.

P. 89. l. 11. on the words [procuring the Bible, &c. to be printed in the *Welch* language, &c.] A passage in the Dean's sermon relating to the state of *Wales* at that time having been excepted to, the reader will find a full vindication of it in the following letter of a very learned and worthy clergyman.

“ S I R,

“ **I**N the history of *Wales*, publish'd by Mr. WILLIAM WYNNE Fellow of *Jesus College Oxford* in 1697, p. 328. there is a passage, which, as it is not a little injurious to the memory of that excellent Prelate, whose life you are writing, may deserve a remark or two, and is as follows :

[‘ And here, by the bye, I cannot but observe what a reverend writer has lately insinuated, relating to the Christian religion planted in *Wales*. For that learned person, in his funeral sermon upon Mr. GOUGE, would fain induce the world to believe, that Christianity was very corrupt and imperfect among the *Welch*, before it was purified by that, whom he terms *apostolical man*. Whereas it is notoriously evident, that since the reformation was settled in that country, and the Bible, with the book of Common-prayer, translated into the *Welch* tongue, no place has been more exact, in keeping to the strict rubric and constitution of the church of *England*, both as to the substance and form of worship.’]

“ I ap-



“ I apprehend this matter may be placed in a  
 “ just light, by the following short account, which  
 “ I draw from good authority. Mr. GOUGE, being  
 “ authorized by the Bishops of our church, and hav-  
 “ ing great encouragement from the nobility and  
 “ gentry of *Wales*, as well as from many persons  
 “ of distinction in *England*, went into a country,  
 “ where, at that time, there was great need of  
 “ preaching, and where he found his own endea-  
 “ vours in that way to be both acceptable and use-  
 “ ful to many of the poor inhabitants, especially in  
 “ those parts, where this method of instruction had  
 “ for a long course of years been considerably ne-  
 “ glected. *But where there was no such need* (as in  
 “ several places, it is presumed, there was not) *he*  
 “ *was very well contented*, as the Preacher at his  
 “ funeral observes, *to hear others persuade men to*  
 “ *goodness, and to practise it himself*. Now this  
 “ being the case, I cannot but be sorry to see it  
 “ misrepresented in the passage I have cited ; where  
 “ the author not only shews less respect, than was  
 “ due to the memory of the deceased Archbishop,  
 “ but gives his words a turn, of which they do not  
 “ seem to be fairly capable ; as may easily be dis-  
 “ cerned on comparing what this gentleman says,  
 “ with what is said in the sermon, to which he re-  
 “ fers : Wherein I cannot find any intimation, such  
 “ as this writer had taught me to expect, that  
 “ Christianity was *very corrupt and imperfect* in  
 “ *Wales*, before the apostolical Mr. GOUGE went  
 “ thither to *purify* it. The true reason of his go-  
 “ ing thither (besides his bestowing *much alms*  
 “ *among the people*) has been given above, and is  
 “ more largely displayed in the sermon itself ; to  
 “ which, as far as I can see, no just exception can  
 “ be made in this respect, by any critic, who is in-  
 “ clined to be candid. And the account given of  
 “ the unhappy state of religion in *Wales*, by the

“ late Dr. SAUNDERS (a very knowing and worthy  
 “ native of that principality) fully justifies the ser-  
 “ mon, and Mr. GOUGE’s errand. But even sup-  
 “ posing (what need not, I think, be supposed,  
 “ or at least cannot be honourably inferred from  
 “ any thing, which Dr. TILLOTSON hath said) that  
 “ Christianity was indeed *corrupt* in some instances,  
 “ and *imperfect* in others, within that principality,  
 “ before the charitable Mr. GOUGE made his jour-  
 “ neys thither; I do not see, that the historian has  
 “ either disproved the supposed fact, or given any  
 “ satisfactory answer to the point, by observing,  
 “ that the inhabitants were very exact in their ad-  
 “ herence to the rubrics and other constitutions of  
 “ our church. The purity and perfection of Chri-  
 “ stianity doth not altogether consist in these; and  
 “ both may be carried farther by preaching, by  
 “ catechizing, by dispersing good books, and such  
 “ other pious methods, as were used by Mr. GOUGE,  
 “ when he travelled into those parts. So that upon  
 “ the whole, I am apt to think his charitable la-  
 “ bours deserved a more grateful acknowledgment,  
 “ and the sermon at his funeral a less invidious  
 “ treatment, than they have met with from this  
 “ author: Of whom I shall only say further, that  
 “ I cannot but wish, he had either forborne his cen-  
 “ sure upon two such excellent men (since it was  
 “ at least needless, which is the softest thing I can  
 “ say) or had delivered it in terms less derogatory  
 “ to characters so justly esteemed, and more ex-  
 “ pressive of that good-nature, which I am inclined  
 “ to expect, and always glad to find, in an *ancient*  
 “ *Britain*.”

P. 176. Note (a), at the end add [The question,  
 whether persons ordain’d by Presbyters might be  
 received as ministers without a new ordination or  
 imposition of hands by diocesan Bishops, had been  
 par-

particularly considered at that time by the learned Mr. FRANCIS TALLENTS, M. A. formerly Fellow of *Magdalen-College* in *Cambridge*, and author of the *Chronological Tables*, who in a paper drawn up by him on that subject, when he was consulted about the comprehension in 1689, and of which an abstract is printed in Dr. CALAMY's *Account*, p. 552—555, observ'd, that persons so ordain'd had been formerly, and might be admitted according to our Bishop's principles, and ought to be so then. Among the instances under the first head he mentions an act passed 12 CHARLES II. to confirm all ordain'd by Presbyters from the year 1642 till that time, in their places.]

P. 181. Note (d), at the end add [But that given by Dr. CALAMY is the true one; for Dr. WATERLAND, in the *Postscript* to the second edition of his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, printed at *Cambridge* in 1728, has given us the following copy of the rubric relating to that creed, as it was settled and finally agreed on by the commissioners in 1689, communicated to him from the original books, then in the possession of Dr. GIBSON, Bishop of *London*.

“ Upon these feasts, Christmas Day, Easter  
“ Day, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, Trinity Sun-  
“ day, and upon All Saints, shall be said at morn-  
“ ing-prayer by the minister and people standing,  
“ instead of the Creed, commonly called the Apo-  
“ stles Creed, this confession of our Christian Faith,  
“ commonly called the Creed of St. ATHANASIUS:  
“ The articles of which ought to be received and  
“ believed as being agreeable to the holy Scrip-  
“ tures: And the condemning clauses are to be un-  
“ derstood as relating only to those, who obstinately  
“ deny the substance of the Christian Faith.”]

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P. 345. l. 14, 15. [used often to declare to his son-in-law Mr. CHADWICK.] The writer of an anonymous letter to me remarks upon this, “ I have heard this related by one well acquainted with Mr. CHADWICK in the following manner; that, when Mr. CHADWICK presented a volume of the Archbishop’s [posthumous] Sermons, the King said to him, *I have read all your Father’s Works; and I will read this: He was the best man, that I ever knew, and the best Friend, that I ever had: Which words the King always repeated upon every like occasion.*”

P. 363. before the paragraph beginning [Not long] insert the following: The Sanction of his Judgment occasioned the publication of a very valuable Discourse, which had been submitted to his correction by the Author, and of which the last part was address’d to him. It was printed at London in 1682 in fol. and intitled, *A View of the Soul, in several Tracts. The first being a Discourse of the Nature and Faculties, the Effects and Operations, the Immortality and Happiness of the Soul of Man. The second, a Cordial against Sorrow, or a Treatise against immoderate Care for a man’s own posterity, and Grief for the Loss of Children. The third consists of several Epistles to the Reverend JOHN TILLOTSON, D. D. and Dean of Canterbury, tending to the farther Illustration of the former Arguments concerning the Soul of Man, & the proof of a particular Providence over it. By a person of quality.* The Publisher informs the Reader, that the Author having drawn up the two first Tracts, and resolv’d to submit them to the judgment of some other Person, applied himself for that purpose to the Dean of Canterbury, a Person well known to the world, no less for his Integrity than accurate Judgment, who with his wonted Freedom did communicate



*nicate his thoughts to him about it, and encouraged him to proceed in his Design. This Candour, with which that judicious person treated him, did at once both increase his Esteem for him, and induced him to think over his Arguments again, and try what he could farther add for their Confirmation and Improvement. This by times and in several ways he did prosecute, and sent his thoughts in so many familiar Epistles to the Dean, whom he had now made his Friend.*

These Epistles are ten in number, containing 219 pages; and the first opens with the reason of the Author's application to the Dean, tho' unknown, "not only, *says he*, from a hearsay of your clear  
" Judgment and courteous Disposition to all men,  
" as well Strangers as Familiars, but from a singular opinion I had of you myself, that you were a  
" person of a frank and open Discourse, and one,  
" who would plainly and roundly tell me of my  
" Faults and Follies; discover your real opinion of  
" what lay before you, and not permit and suffer  
" me (a mere stranger) for want of Admonition,  
" to cherish an imperfect or deform'd embryo, and  
" such, as might casually hereafter be born into the  
" world to my Disgrace."

A P P E N D I X.

N U M B E R    I I I .

*Miscellaneous Remarks on the Sermons of Archbishop TILLOTSON. By JOHN JORTIN, M. A. and Rector of St. Dunstan's in the East.*

VOL. I. SERMON XXXV. Edit. fol.

**T**HIS sermon hath been attacked by *Cavillers* at home and abroad, and defended by *LE CLERC* in the *Bibliothèque Choise.*

VOL. I. SERMON XXXVI.

“ The poet feigns of *ACHILLES*, that by some charm or gift of the *GODS*, he was invulnerable, except in the heel, &c. The wise poet instructing us, &c.”

This is a small slip in our excellent author ; for the poet *κατ' ἐξοχήν* is *HOMER*, who hath said nothing concerning this fable of *ACHILLES*.

VOL. I. SERMON XLIII, &c.

*TILLOTSON* printed these sermons *on the Divinity of Christ*, to vindicate himself from the charge of *Socinianism*, that is, from an accusation entirely groundless. I have been told, that *CRELLIUS*, a *Socinian*, and a descendant from the more celebrated *CRELLIUS*, who used, when he came over hither, to visit the Archbishop, and to converse with him, justified him on this head, and declared, that *TILLOTSON* had often disputed with him in a friendly way upon the subject of the *Trinity*, and that he  
was

was the best reasoner, and had the most to say for himself, of any adversary he had ever encountered.

But then TILLOTSON had made some concessions concerning the Socinians, which never were, and never will be forgiven him, and hath broken an ancient and fundamental rule of theological controversy, *allow not an adversary to have either common sense or common honesty.*

Here is the obnoxious passage:

“ And yet to do right to the writers on that side, I must own, that generally they are a pattern of the fair way of disputing, and of debating matters of religion, without heat and unseemly reflections upon their adversaries.—They generally argue matters with that temper and gravity, and with that freedom from passion and transport, which becomes a serious and weighty argument: and for the most part they reason closely and clearly, with extraordinary guard and caution, with great dexterity and decency, and yet with smartness and subtilty enough; with a very gentle heat, and few hard words: virtues to be praised, wherever they are found, yea even in an enemy, and very worthy our imitation. In a word, they are the strongest managers of a weak cause, and which is ill-founded at the bottom, that perhaps ever yet meddled with controversy; insomuch that some of the Protestants, and the generality of the Popish writers, and even of the Jesuits themselves, who pretend to all the reason and subtilty in the world, are in comparison of them but mere scolds and bunglers. Upon the whole matter, they have but this one great defect, that they want a good cause and truth on their side; which if they had, they have reason, and wit, and temper enough to defend it.”

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The thought, which is contained in the last sentence, resembles that of *QUINTILIAN*, who says of *SENECA*: *Multa probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt: eligere modo curæ sit, quod utinam ipse fecisset! Digna enim fuit illa natura, quæ meliora vellet, quæ quod voluit effecit.* And again, *Velles eum suo ingenio dixisse, alieno judicio.*

Now, by way of contrast, behold the character of the same persons, from the masterly and impartial hand of *SOUTH*:

“The Socinians are impious blasphemers, whose infamous pedigree runs back [*from wretch to wretch*] in a direct line to the devil himself; and who are fitter to be crushed by the civil magistrate, as destructive to government and society, than to be confuted as merely heretics in religion.”

Such is the true *agonistic style* and *intolerant spirit*; such the *courage* of a champion, who challenges his adversary, and then calls upon the *constable* to come and help him.

————— *An tibi Mavors*  
*Ventosa in lingua, pedibusque fugacibus istis*  
*Semper erit?*

VOL. II. SERMON XVI.

“*JOSEPHUS* flattered *VESPASIAN* so far, as to make him believe, that he was the man [the *Messias*]; and thereupon *persuaded* him to *destroy* the line of *DAVID*, out of which the tradition was, that the *Messias* should spring, &c.”

*JOSEPHUS* did not give this wicked advice. Our Prelate perhaps had in his thoughts what *EUSEBIUS* relates of *DOMITIAN*, that he ordered all the family of *DAVID* to be destroyed, and that some of our Lord’s kinsmen were seized, and brought before him, and upon examination dismiss’d, as poor and incon-



inconsiderable persons. Afterwards, in the time of TRAJAN, some heretics laid an information against SYMEON the son of CLEOPAS, as being of the family of DAVID, and also a Christian; and for this SYMEON was put to death, when he was an hundred and twenty years old. But these very accusers of the martyr were also convicted of belonging to the royal tribe, diligent search being made at that time for such persons.

EUSEBIUS had these accounts from HEGESIPPUS, and HEGESIPPUS is far enough from infallibility. So the stories rest upon his authority, such as it is. EUSEB. E. H. III. 19, 20, 32.

VOL. II. SERMON LXX.

“ We must be serious in our instructions—to  
 “ which nothing can be more contrary than to  
 “ trifle with the word of GOD, and to speak of  
 “ the weightiest matters in the world, the great and  
 “ everlasting concerns of the souls of men, in  
 “ so slight and indecent a manner, as is not only  
 “ beneath the gravity of the pulpit, but even of a  
 “ well-regulated stage. Can any thing be more  
 “ unsuitable, than to hear a minister of GOD from  
 “ this solemn place to break jests upon sin, and to  
 “ quibble with the vices of the age? This is to  
 “ shoot without a bullet, as if we had no mind to  
 “ do execution, but only to make men smile at the  
 “ mention of their faults: this is so nauseous a  
 “ folly, and of so pernicious consequence to reli-  
 “ gion, that hardly any thing too severe can be said  
 “ of it.”

This was undoubtedly designed as a censure upon SOUTH, for saying, that *that there is no fluxing a soul out of its immortality*, and a hundred things of the same kind.

“ The being of GOD is so comfortable, so convenient, so necessary to the felicity of mankind, that (as TULLY admirably says) *Dii immortales ad usum hominum fabricati pene videantur*; If GOD were not a necessary Being of himself, he might almost seem to be made on purpose for the use and benefit of men.”

A learned person, who shall not be named, observed, that TILLOTSON, taking the verb *fabricati* in a *passive sense*, grossly misunderstood CICERO, whose words are these: *Sunt autem alij philosophi, & hi quidem magni atque nobiles, qui Deorum mente atque ratione omnem mundum administrari atque regi censeant: neque verò id solum, sed etiam ab iisdem vitæ hominum consuli & provideri: nam & fruges, & reliqua quæ terra pariat, & tempestates, ac temporum varietates, cælique mutationes, quibus omnia quæ terra gignat, maturata pubescant, a Dis immortalibus tribui humano generi putant; multaque, quæ talia sunt, ut ea ipsa Di immortales ad usum hominum fabricati pene videantur.* De Nat. Deor. l. 2.

It is certain, that these words, as they stand in CICERO, will not admit the sense, which TILLOTSON gives them: but TILLOTSON, in all probability, cited by memory, and without consulting the context, and put that meaning upon the words, which seemed the most reasonable and elegant; and perhaps his good sense led him here to the true interpretation. BOHERIUS, a learned *French* critic, understood this passage just as TILLOTSON had taken it; and to accommodate the sentence to this purpose, he proposed a slight emendation, which is approved by DAVIES. CLARISS. BOHERIUS *legit*, —ut ET IPSI Dii immortales ad usum hominum fabricati pene videantur. *Audax sane videtur loquendi ratio; sed sensus facit, ut ei conjecturæ faveam.* DAVIES.

In favour of this conjecture and interpretation, it may be observed, that, according to the Pagan theology, the *Dij immortales* are the *sun*, the *moon*, the *stars*, the *planets*, and the *earth*, who furnish us with the comforts and conveniencies of life; and so highly beneficial are they to mortal men, that, although they be *Gods*, yet they *seem almost* to have been *made* for the use of man.

If you ask, by whom were the Gods made? the Pagan answer is, by *nature*, or by the *supreme God*, who drew them out of *chaos*, and who is called by OVID, *mundi fabricator*.

*Hanc Deus & melior litem Natura diremit.*

And then,

*Astra tenent cœleste solum, formæque Deorum.*  
OVID Met. 1.

*Illa Deos omnes, longum enumerare, creavit*  
Says OVID, Fast. IV. speaking of VENUS.

CICERO advanced somewhat that was bold, and therefore qualified it with a *pene videantur*.

VOL. III. SERMON CXL.

“ I know not what some men may find in themselves; but I must freely acknowledge, that I could never yet attain to that bold and hardy degree of faith, as to believe any thing, for this reason, because it was impossible.—So that I am very far from being of *his* mind, that wanted, not only more difficulties, but even impossibilities in the Christian religion, to exercise his faith upon.”

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The person, whom TILLOTSON had in view, was the author of *Religio Medici*. But by *impossibilities*, SIR THOMAS BROWN, as well as TERTULLIAN, meant *seeming* not *real impossibilities*; and what he says should be looked upon as a *verbum ardens*, a rhetorical flourish, and a trial of skill with TERTULLIAN, in which however he had little chance to come off superior. Both of them were lively and ingenious, but the *African* had a warmer complexion than the *Briton*.

“Methinks there be not impossibilities enough  
“in religion for an active faith.—I can answer all  
“the objections of Satan and my rebellious reason,  
“with that odd resolution I learned of TERTUL-  
“LIAN, *Certum est, quia impossibile est*.—I am  
“thankful, that I lived not in the days of mira-  
“cles, &c.” *Rel. Medici*.

TILLOTSON judging, that the Papists would make an ill use of this, and such passages as this, in Protestant writers, was willing to pass a gentle animadversion upon it.

SIR KENELM DIGBY, a Roman Catholic, who criticizes several things in the *Religio Medici*, yet gives his loud approbation to these pious sallies: *I am extremely pleased with him when he saith, there are not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith, &c.* Extreme pleased, without question, and full of hopes, that this young author might at last *unreason* himself into *implicit belief*, and go over to a church, which would feed his hungry faith with a sufficient quantity of impossibilities.

*Tendimus in Latium!*

Amongst many things, which may be mentioned in favour of TILLOTSON, this should not be forgotten, that of those, who have passed their judgments upon him, there never was a *son of absurdity*, who did not *dislike*, or a *sensible reader*, who did not ap-  
prove



*prove* his writings. If a person were to offer himself a candidate for honest reputation, what could he wish and hope more, than to share TILLOTSON'S fate, and to find the same censurers and the same defenders? Yet it hath been said of this great and good man, that his spirits were in some degree broken, and his health impaired, by the insults and calumnies of petulant adversaries. If it be true, it is a melancholy instance of human infirmity, and a proof, that a little *Stoicism* and *Socratism* is a desirable possession. To forgive enemies, though difficult to many, was easy to him, assisted as he was by good-nature and by religion: but to despise their attacks, was a task rather too hard for his gentle temper and sensibility; so that, in this respect, and under these disadvantages, he was not a match for men, who could neither *blush* nor *feel*.

“ A man's good name, *says he*, is a tender thing, and a wound there sinks deep into the spirit even of a wise and good man: and the more innocent any thing is in this kind, the more sensible he is of this hard usage; because he never treats others so, nor is he conscious to himself, that he hath deserved it.” Vol. II. Serm. XLII.

Every thing, they say, hath two handles. When SOCRATES was under sentence of death, XANTHIPPE took on bitterly, and refusing comfort, cried, “ O my husband! what grieves me most is, that these wicked judges should treat an innocent man thus, and condemn thee unjustly, and for nothing at all.” “ Wife, *said he*, why should that grieve thee? Hadst thou rather then, that they had condemn'd me justly?”



A  
S E R M O N

Preach'd at the  
MORNING-EXERCISE

A T  
*C R I P P L E - G A T E .*

In *September*, 1661.

B Y  
*Mr.* JOHN TILLOTSON,  
Afterwards Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*,

First added to his WORKS, in the Edition  
1752, in fol.

S. E. R. M. O. N.

Printed in the

MORNING-EXERCISE

AT

CRIPPLE-GATE

In September, 1801.

BY

MR. JOHN TILLOTSON.

Author of the "Lectures on the Prophecy of Isaiah."

Printed by W. R. in the Strand, 1801.

11.



## MATTHEW vii. 12.

*Therefore all things whatsoever you would, that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the law and the prophets.*

THESE words being brought in by way of inference from something said before, we must look back a little to find out the relation of them to the former verses. At the seventh verse Christ commands to ask of God those things, which we want : to encourage us to ask, he promises us we should receive : to induce us to believe this promise, he puts a temporal case : Our earthly fathers, who are evil, give us good things, when we ask them : how much more easily may we believe this of a good God of infinite goodness ? Now as we desire God should give us those things we ask, so we should do to others ; and not only so, but *universally in all other things, what we would, that men should do to us, that we should do to others. That men should do unto you ;* though the persons be expressed, yet we may take it impersonally, by an usual *Hebraism*, as if it had been said ; *whatever you would should be done unto you ;* leaving the person to be supply'd in the largest sense : thus, *whatever you would should be done unto you by God or men. This is the law and the prophets,* i. e. this is the sum of the Old Testament, so far as concerns our duty to our neighbour.

The observation, which ariseth from the words, is this :

*The great rule of equity in all our dealings with men is this, To do as we would be done unto.* This rule hath been otherwise express'd, but not more em-

phatically in any other form of words than this here in the text. Matt. xxii. 39. *Love thy neighbour as thyself*. This requires, that we should bear the same affection to our neighbour, which we would have him bear to us : but the rule in the text expressly requires, that we should do the same offices to others, which we would have them do to us. SEVERUS the Emperor, as the historian LAMPRIDIUS tells us, did learn this rule of Christians, and did much reverence Christ and Christianity for it ; but he expressed it negatively, *Quod tibi non vis, alteri ne feceris*. Now this forbids us to do injuries to others, but doth not so expressly command us to do Kindnesses and Courtesies.

In speaking to this rule, I shall give you,

- I. The *explication* of it.
- II. The *grounds* of it.
- III. The instances, wherein we ought principally to practise it.

I. For explication, the meaning of it is this :  
 “ Put thyself into the case and circumstances of  
 “ every man, with whom thou hast to do : that is,  
 “ suppose thou wert he, and as he is, and he were  
 “ thyself, and as thou art : that then, which thou  
 “ wouldst desire he should do to thee, that do thou  
 “ to him ; and that, which thou wouldst be unwilling  
 “ he should do to thee, do not thou to him.” Now  
 this is an exact rule, for we are very curious in determining our own privileges, and what duty others owe to us : Just so much, as we take to ourselves, we must allow to others ; what we expect from others, when we are in such circumstances, we must do the same to them in the like. And this is a plain and easy rule. Many men cannot tell what is law, or justice, or right in such a case ; many cannot deduce the laws of nature one from another : but there is no  
 man

man but can tell what it is, that he would have another man do to him : every man can take his own actions, and put them into the other scale, and suppose, If this, that I do now to another, were to be done to me, should I like it ? Should I be pleas'd and contented with it ? And thus by changing the scale, his own self-love, and self-interest, and other passions, will add nothing to the weight ; for that self-interest, which makes a man covetous, and inclines him to wrong another man for his own advantage, makes him likewise (when the scales are chang'd) unwilling, that another man should wrong him. That self-conceit, which makes a man proud, and apt to scorn and despise others, makes him unwilling, that another should contemn him.

I question not but by this time you understand the meaning of the rule ; but we are not yet past all difficulties about it. Three things are to be done, before this rule will be of use to us :

1. We must make it appear, that it is *reasonable*.
2. Make it *certain* ; for till it be certain, it cannot be a rule.
3. Make it *practicable*.

1. We must make it appear to be *reasonable*. The difficulty about the reasonableness of it is this : According to this rule I shall be obliged to do that many times, which is sinful ; and to omit that, which is a necessary duty. I will give two or three instances. SAUL would have had his armour-bearer to have kill'd him : might he therefore have kill'd his armour-bearer, if he had been willing, and had desired it ? I may not be an instrument, or furtherer of another man's sin, though I were so wicked as to desire, that another would be so to me. If I were a Child, I would not have my father correct me ; or a malefactor, I would not have the magistrate cut me off. Must there therefore be no correction or punishment ? Now because of these, and

the like instances, which may be given, the rule is necessarily to be understood of things, that may be done or omitted, *i. e.* which are not unlawful or unreasonable. SAUL might not kill his armour-bearer; I may not further another man's sin, in the cases propounded; because these things may not be done, they are morally impossible, that is, unlawful. A parent or magistrate may not wholly omit correction or punishment, because such omission would tend to the ruin of good manners and of human society.

2. We must make the rule *certain*. The difficulty about the certainty of it is this: Everlasting disputes will arise about what is lawful and reasonable, and unlawful and unreasonable. Now we must reduce it to a certainty thus: Whatever I would that another should do to me, that I should do to him, unless the thing be plainly and evidently unlawful or unreasonable. And this cuts off all disputes: For tho' there may be perpetual disputes about what is lawful and reasonable, or the contrary; yet there can be no dispute about the unlawfulness and unreasonableness of those things, which are plainly and evidently so; for that, which is plain and evident, is out of all dispute. To confirm this, let us consider another text, *Phil. iv. 8.* where the Apostle exhorts Christians to follow whatever things are *true*, and *honest*, and *just*, and *pure*; and as a discovery of what things are such, he adds, whatever things are *lovely*, of *good report*, and *praise-worthy*, that is, whatever things are amiable, well-spoken of, and prais'd by wise and good men, who are the only competent judges of these things, if they be not plainly contrary to truth, or honesty, or justice, or purity, follow these things. And if this be not the meaning, those words *lovely*, of *good report*, *praise-worthy*, are superfluous, and do not at all direct our conversation, which certainly the Apostle intended to do by them.

3. We



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3. We must make it *practicable*. There are two things, which make the practice of it difficult :

1. A seeming *contradiction* in the rule :

2. *Partiality* in judging of the circumstances of other mens conditions, and our own.

1. A seeming *contradiction* in the rule ; which you will see in these instances. If I desire a thing, I would not have another stand in competition with me for it. If another desire a thing, I would not have him think much, that I stand in competition with him. If I be indebted to another, I would not have him arrest me. If another be indebted to me, I would not have him think much, that I arrest him. When we sell, we care not how dear ; when we buy, we care not how cheap. Now if this were a real contradiction in the rule, it were impossible it should be put in practice ; but it is only a contradiction in our *wills*, which must thus be reconciled to the *rule* :

(1.) We must consider, which of these wills is most reasonable, and the greater reason and equity must carry it ; and that, which is plainly unreasonable, in comparison of the other, is not to be regarded. If we consider the two first instances, this is most reasonable, that where men have an equal right, they should be allow'd an equal liberty to use that right. Another man hath as much right to stand in competition with me for any thing, as I to stand in competition with him ; and to arrest me in case of debt, as I to arrest him : and it is plainly unreasonable, that I should use this right, and another be debarr'd from it.

(2.) If both these contradictory wills be plainly unreasonable, as in the third instance of buying and selling, they must be accommodated by finding out such a medium, as is equally and mutually good for all buyers and sellers ; that is, such a proportion of  
gain

gain may be taken, and must be allow'd to be taken, as will be equally and mutually good for all buyers and sellers.

2. Another difficulty in the practice of this rule ariseth from mens *partiality*, in judging of the circumstances of other mens conditions and their own. We are apt to lessen the circumstances of another man's condition, and to over-value our own. Another man's concernments seem less to us than they are, and our own greater than they are. Now this difficulty will most eminently appear in *cases of passion and interest*, and those *subordinate relations*, which are at the greatest distance. Another man provokes me; I revenge myself on him. One asks me, *Would you be contented to be thus dealt withal?* I am ready to answer, *Yea, if I should so provoke another.* I aggravate the fault of his provocation, and lessen that of my own revenge: here is *passion*. I desire a courtesy of a man, which he cannot conveniently do for me; he denies me, I think much at him, because I judge the *courtesy less*, and *his obligation* to do it *greater*, than indeed it is: here is *interest*. I think, if I were a father, I should not carry myself so severely towards my children; if I were a master, I should give more liberty to servants, and use them with a greater familiarity; if I were a minister, I should not gall the consciences of people by so free and open a reproof of sin; if I were a magistrate, I should make other laws, or punish some crimes more or less severely. Now if men frequently thus mis-judge, how shall this rule be put in practice?

To remove these difficulties, as much as may be, and to make the practice of this rule more easy, observe these rules:

1. Labour to understand truly every man's condition, so far as you have opportunity. This is easily said; but how shall we come to do it? Thus:  
when

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when you are in any condition, observe diligently the motions of your own mind, and how your affections then work, and what apprehensions you then have of things, and what it is, that in such a condition you desire, and expect from others ; and labour to remember this, when you are out of that condition, and to retain the sense, which you then had of things.

2. In cases, wherein you are unexperienc'd, and which you cannot reasonably be presumed to understand, partly because of your distance from that condition, partly because of the opposition of your own interest, and partly because of the mists and clouds of your own passion ; trust the concurrent experience of others, who are in that condition, and think that you ought not to do that to another, which the generality of mankind count grievous ; and that fit to be done, which the most and wisest in such a condition and relation do usually expect. If men, when they are under, and lie at the mercy of others, generally desire, that clemency and moderation should be used towards them, how just soever thou mayest think thy severity is, and that thou would'st be contented that another should deal so with thee ; yet do not trust thy present apprehensions of things, but believe that thou wilt have the same sense of things, when they lie heavy upon thee, with the rest of mankind, and when thou art in their circumstances, thou wilt desire quarter, as they do. In like manner, that respect and obedience, which parents, and masters, and magistrates do generally expect (even the best and wisest of them) that do thou pay to them ; and tho' it may have some appearance of rigour and injustice, yet believe, that when thou comest to be in the same relation, thou wilt expect the same things, as they do : and that thou dost now judge otherwise, proceeds from thy inexperience or distance from that condition, or from passion and opposition of interest.

3. Conclude, that in cases between superiors and inferiors, the partiality is usually on the inferior's side ; and it is reasonable thus to conclude, both because inferiors have seldom had experience of the other condition, as superiors usually have had ; (a child hath not been a parent, or a servant ordinarily a master, or a subject a magistrate ; but parents have all been children, and most masters have been servants, and many magistrates subjects, and so they have had experience of both conditions) and likewise because inferiors cannot so well see the condition and circumstances of those, that are above them, as those that are above, can of those that are below them : they have the advantage of ground, and better opportunities of knowledge.

4. In judging of your present condition and circumstances, always abate something for the presence of them, and for self-love, and self-interest, and other passions. He, that doth not consider, how apt every man is unequally to favour himself, doth not know the littleness and narrowness of human nature. We are near to ourselves, and our own interest is near to us, and we see it in its full proportions, and with all possible advantages. Other men and their interests are at a distance from us, and seem less to us than they are. Now we must make abatements for this, according to that experience, which we have had of our own mistakes ; which if we will observe, as we pass from one condition into another, we may easily be convinc'd, how great many times they are.

II. For the *grounds* of this : The equity of this rule stands upon these foundations :

1. All men are equal in many things, and those the greatest things. Now I should deal equally with him, whom I acknowledge to be mine equal. *Have we not all one Father ? Hath not one God created us ?* Mal. ii. 10. Are we not all made of the same materials ?



terials? *Is it not appointed for all men once to die,* Heb. ix. 27. and after death to stand before the impartial judgment of God? We have all the same notions of right and wrong; we are all obnoxious to one another, and may be all beneficial one to another; we all love ourselves, and study the advancement of our interest and happiness. Thus far equal.

2. In most of those things, wherein we are unequal, the inequality is not considerable, so as to be a ground of an unequal dealing with one another. As to *strength of body*, whatever the difference be, the inequality is not considerable, because as to the greatest effects of strength, there is an equality. Every man, that will venture his own life, may take away another man's, either by open force, or by surprize. As to *abilities of*

*Dominus est alterius vitæ quicunque contemnit suam.*

*mind* (which we usually call *parts*) there is originally a great equality, especially if that receiv'd opinion be true, that *souls are equal*: And, as the French Philosopher DES CARTES has ingeniously observ'd, there is this notable sign of the equality of mens understandings; *Nulla res,*

*Dissertat. de methodo.*

(saith he) *æquabilis inter homines distributa est quam bona mens, &c.* No-

thing is more equally divided among men than a good understanding. Men will acknowledge others to be richer and stronger than themselves; few will acknowledge others to be wiser, or to have better parts than themselves. Every man thinks himself to have so good a proportion of parts and wisdom, that

even those, who are most covetous, and have the most insatiable desires as to other things, and whom nature could never satisfy in any thing else, yet would not desire to have more wit than they have, or exchange their parts with any man. Now there is no better sign of an

*Qui velit ingenio cedere, rarus est.*

equal

equal distribution of things, than that every man is contented with his share. *Now because all men generally think thus, it is to be presum'd, that all are not deceiv'd; but that there is some real equality, which is the ground of this conceit.* A difference indeed must be granted, but which ariseth usually from one of these two cases; either an *unequal exercise of our parts, or an unequal temper of body.* Now those, who are so happy, as to exercise their understandings more than others, are very often rather conceited, that they are wiser than others, than really so; *for the greatest clerks are not always the wisest men.* Those, who are unhappy in the temper of their bodies, are thereby inclin'd, how weak soever they be, to conceit themselves as wise as others. So that whatever real inequality there be, conceit levels all again. So that whether men be really wise, or only think themselves so, it makes no difference as to mens dealing one with another; for they, that think themselves equal, will not deal but upon equal terms. So that ARISTOTLE'S pretty notion, that *wise men are born to govern, and fools to obey,* signifies very little in this case; for there are but few such fools in the world, but would govern, if they can. So that by virtue of wisdom or parts, no man can challenge a privilege or prerogative to himself above others, which another will not pretend to as well as he.

3. In all those things, wherein men are unequal, the inequality is not fix'd and constant, but mutable and by turns. All things, that belong to us, are either the *endowments of the mind, the accidents of the body, or the circumstances of our outward estate.* Now those, that are most unequal in any of these, may be equal; for the inequality may turn, and be as much on the other side. A disease may ruin the most happy and excellent *memory*, and make a man forget his own name; a little knock on any side

side of the head may level the highest *understanding* with the meanest; *beauty*, *health*, and *strength* may be blasted by a disease, or a thousand other accidents; *riches*, and *honour*, and *reputation*; are the most slippery and brittle things, that belong to us; and, when these are gone, *friends* will fall off like leaves in autumn. Now why should I despise another man, when I may be as silly as he? or bear down another, by my strength, when I may be as weak as he? or insult over another's poor and low condition, when a day may level me with his meanness, and raise him to be as great and as rich as I am?

4. Another ground is, *The mutual and universal equity and advantage of this rule*. Upon those terms I and all men shall be equally dealt with: it will be well with me, and well with all men. The observation of this rule would secure peace to the world: and, if it were generally practis'd, those few, that should offend against it, would be look'd upon as the pests and troublers of human society. As by the violation of this rule every man becomes a *wolf* and *beast of prey* to another, so by the observation of it every man would be a *God* to another; men would be full of mutual goodness, and pity, and compassion; they would be mutual benefactors one to another. All men would be as happy, as it is possible for them to be in this world, and no man could be miserable, if it were in the power of his neighbour to help him.

5. The last ground I shall mention is, *The absurdity and inconvenience of the contrary*.

And this is the most proper way of proving this; for, as ARISTOTLE tells us, *first principles, which are evident by their own light, cannot be prov'd by way of demonstration but of conviction*. As thus, *contradictions cannot be true at once*: this cannot be demonstrated *a priori*, because there is nothing true before it, to prove it by: therefore whoever shall deny it, must be convinc'd of the truth of it, by shewing

shewing the absurdities of the contrary. In like manner, this being one of the first principles of human society, That we should use no more liberty towards other men, than we would allow them to use towards us; the best way to convince any man of the reasonableness and equity of it, will be to shew him the inconveniences of the contrary. Wherever this principle is violated, men will think themselves injur'd; where men are injur'd, they will be apt to vindicate themselves. Hence come contention and wars, which loose the bands of human society; or, if a man can pardon an injury, that hath receiv'd one, yet he, that hath done it, cannot believe so, but he will fear revenge; and fear of being oppress'd makes a man seek to anticipate and prevent another; so that every injury endangers the peace and security of mankind, and lays the foundation of perpetual mischief; for by the same reason, that I injure any man, I am oblig'd to ruin him.

He, that breaks this rule, doth what he can to break human society; that is, to spoil himself of all common protection, and to leave himself to stand upon his guard against all the world; in which state no man can hope to continue, that is not wiser and stronger than all the world.

<sup>H. Dnpior n</sup>  
<sup>Si. Pol. c. 2.</sup> ARISTOTLE tells us, *He, that desires to be alone, must either be a God or a wild beast*; that is, he must either be self-sufficient, and stand in need of nothing; or else be wild and savage, and delight in cruelty and mischief.

III. The *instances*, wherein we ought chiefly to practise this rule, are these:

I. In matters of *civil respect and conversation*, I must treat every man with that fair respect I would have another to shew me. We must accommodate ourselves to mens particular tempers, and not be froward, or intractable, or tenacious of our own humour, especially when it lies in another man's way:



way : but we must be apt to recede and give way, that there may be room for other mens tempers and humours, as well as ours : our humour must not take up all the world. Those, who want this complaisance, are in society (as one ingeniously compares them) like irregular stones in a building, which are full of roughness and corners ; they take up more room than they fill ; till they be polish'd and made even, others cannot lie near them : so men of sharp and perverse humours are unsociable, till the ruggedness and asperities of their nature be taken off. We must not carry ourselves insolently, or superciliously, or contemptuously towards others ; we must not be contumelious ; nor by deed or word, countenance or gesture, declare hatred or contempt of others. We must not upbraid one another with any imperfection, or weakness, or deformity ; we must not peremptorily contradict others ; we must not use to talk things displeasing to others, wherein their credit, or relations, or especially their religion is concern'd. JOSEPHUS saith, this was one of MOSES's laws (it was a good one, whose-ever it was) ὅς ἄλλαι πόλεις *Antiquit. Judiac. lib. IV.*  
νομοῦσι θεοῖς, μηδεὶς βλασφημεῖτω ;

*Let no man blaspheme that, which other nations count a God, or make their religion.* Not but that every man may confute a false religion, and endeavour by all fair ways to convince a Jew, or Turk, or Heathen ; but we may not reproach another man's religion, or provoke any man in ordinary conversation by unseasonable and uncivil reflections upon it : for we are with meekness to convince gainfayers, to reprove men for their sins, but not to upbraid them with them. We must give no offence to the Jew, or to the Gentile, remembring always, that *the wrath of man doth not work the righteousness of God* ; and that MICHAEL the Arch-angel, when he contended with the devil, did not *bring a railing accusation against*

*bim* ; he did not revile him, no, not in the heat of dispute. And there is great reason, why we should thus carry ourselves towards others, because we ourselves would not be contemn'd or despis'd ; we would not have any man jeer us, or insult over us, or upbraid us, or peevishly contradict us, or affront us by speaking unhandsomely of us, or of our relations, or our religion. Now if we would have others to consider us, we must not neglect them ; if we would be taken notice of for some body, we must not overlook others with contempt. Every thing thinks itself considerable ; and there is nothing comes sooner to us, or continues longer with us, than a sense of our own worth ; and we judge ill of human nature, if we think another man is not as impatient of rude and uncivil usage as we are. Nothing would be despis'd ; a worm would not be trod upon ; nay, men do usually over-value themselves, and are apt to think, that they are owners of that singular worth, which may command respect from all men ; and that every one, that passeth by, ought to fall down, and do obeisance to them. They have JOSEPH's dream waking, they think *all mens sheaves bow to their sheaves* ; they think every man takes notice of them, and observes their carriage and actions, when probably not one of a thousand ever took them into consideration, or ask'd who they were. Now we must consider, that it is a hundred to one but there is a little of this vanity in us also, and that we do usually look for more respect than is due. Therefore it will not be amiss, in our respects towards others, *largiri aliquid*, to give men something above what we think they deserve ; and the rather, because civil respect is cheap, and costs us nothing, and we expect from others full as much as comes to our share ; for it is a mistake to think, that we do but righteously esteem our-

ourselves, and that we have no more than a just value of our own worth.

2. In matters of *kindness* and *courtesies*, we must be useful to one another. I would have no man churlish to me, but ready to gratify me, and do me a kindness. Do I think much to be deny'd a reasonable favour, and doth not another so too? We would have all men love us, that is, bear such an affection to us, that, when it falls in their way, they should be ready to do us a courtesy. We would not have courtesies done in a discourteous manner, extorted by importunity, or upbraided to us afterwards. Let us likewise dispense favours with a liberal hand and a chearful countenance, that men may see, that they come from a kind heart, and a real good will.

3. In matters of *charity* and *compassion*: If any man be in misery, pity him, and help him to your power; if any be in necessity and want, contribute to his relief, without too scrupulous inquiries about him; for we would be thus dealt with ourselves, we would not have others to harden their hearts, or shut up their bowels of compassion against us. Is any man cast down? do not insult over him, and trample upon him; do not look upon him with scorn, and rejoice over him in the day of distress. *Res est sacra miser; persons in misery are sacred, and not to be violated.* When you see any man in calamity, think ye hear him say to you with Job, *I also could speak as you do, if your soul were in my soul's stead: I could heap up words against you, and shake mine head at you; but I would strengthen you with my mouth, and the moving of my lips should assuage your grief,* Job. xvi. 4, 5.

4. In matters of *forbearance* and *forgiveness*. We stand in need of forbearance and pardon from others, from God and men; we should be loth God should take advantage against us upon every provocation,

and let fly at us with a thunder-bolt every time we offend him. We would not have men storm and fall into passion with us upon every slight occasion. I would have great allowances given to me ; I would have my *ignorance*, and *inadvertency*, and *mistakes*, and *present temper*, and all *occasions* and *provocations*, and every thing consider'd. And when I have done amiss, upon acknowledgment of my fault, I would be forgiven and receiv'd to favour. Now if we would be thus dealt with, we must bear with others : the best men need some grains of allowance ; *nullum unquam ingenium placuit sine venia* ; no man was ever so perfect, so accomplish'd, so unexceptionable, but there was something or other in his carriage, that needed pardon. Every man hath a particular humour ; we must give some allowance for that : every man is subject to mistake, we must allow for that too : and if a man have committed a fault, we must accept of an ingenuous acknowledgment, and be ready to grant him peace. There is a shame and disdain in human nature of too vile a submission ; therefore we must not bring a man too low, when we have him at advantage.

5. In matter of *report*, and *representation* of other *men* and their *actions*. We must not take up a rash prejudice, or entertain a sinister apprehension of any upon slight grounds. Do not represent any man, his words or actions, at a disadvantage ; make the best of every thing. A man's good name is like a looking-glass, nothing is sooner crackt, and every breath can fully it. Handle every man's reputation with the same tenderness thou wouldst have every man use towards thine. Do not slander or defame any man, or rejoice to hear other mens miscarriages ript open ; do not account it an entertainment to censure and backbite all the world.

6. In matter of *trust* and *fidelity*. Where I place a confidence, and repose a trust, I would not be deceiv'd ;



deceiv'd ; I must not deceive another, nor let any man fall, that leans upon me. If a man trust me with the management of his business, or lodge a secret with me, or put his life into my power, or commit the care of his estate or children to me after his death ; these are ingenuous trusts, and must be discharg'd with the same faithfulness we expect from others.

7. In matter of *duty* and *obedience*. We must give that honour to our parents, which we would expect from our children ; and pay that reverence to masters, which we would exact from our servants. We must rise up before the grey head, and give respect to old age ; for let us not think, but that the change of relation and of age will have the same effect upon us, which it hath upon the rest of the world. It is a folly to talk, that when we are old, we shall be pleas'd with the insolencies of youth ; when we are masters, we shall not be at all offended with the contemptuous carriage of our servants ; that it will not touch our hearts to have our children undutiful and void of respect, to see the fruit of our body unnatural and unkind to us.

8. In matters of *freedom* and *liberty*, which are not determin'd by any natural or positive law. We must permit as much to others, as we assume to ourselves ; and this is a sign of an equal and temperate person, and one that justly values his own understanding and power. But there is nothing, wherein men usually deal more unequally with one another, than in different opinions and practices of religion. I account that an indifferent opinion, which good men differ about ; not that such an opinion is indifferent as to truth or error, but as to salvation or damnation it is not of necessary belief. By an indifferent practice in religion, I mean that, which is in its own nature neither a duty, nor a sin to do or omit. Where I am left free, I would not have any man to rob me

of my liberty, or intrench upon my freedom; and because he is satisfied such a thing is lawful and fit to be done, expect I should do it, who think it otherwise; or because he is confident such an opinion is true, be angry with me, because I cannot believe as fast as he. Now if another do ill in doing thus to me, I cannot do well in doing so to another. And do not say, that thou art sure thou art in the right, and he, that differs from thee, in the wrong; and therefore thou may'st impose upon him, though he may not upon thee. Hath not every man this confidence of his own opinion and practice? And usually the weakest cause bears up with the greatest confidence. Now if thou wouldst not have another, who is confident he is in the right, impose upon thee, do not thou impose upon another for all thy confidence. We should rather be modest, and say every one to ourselves, *How came I to be so much wiser than other men? Which way came the Spirit of the Lord from so many wise and pious men, to speak unto me? Is it a peculiar privilege granted to me, that I cannot be mistaken? or are not they most of all mistaken, who think they cannot mistake? If then I be but like other men, why should I take so much upon me, as if my understanding were to be a rule, and my apprehensions a standard to the whole world? as if when another man differs from me, I did not differ as much from him. Why may not another man understand the thing better than I do, or what crime is it, if he understand it not so well? Were all mens understandings cast in the same mould? Is it presumption for any man to know more than I do, or a sin to know less?* Job doth well reprove this self-conceit, Job. xii. 2, 3. His friends would needs bear him down, and were very angry with him, that he was not of their mind, and would not acknowledge all to be true of himself, which they said against him. He takes them up sharply: *No doubt you are the people, and wisdom shall die with you; but I have understanding, as well*

*as you, and I am not inferior to you. — Who knoweth not such things as these?* Let not any man think, that he hath ingrossed all the knowledge of the world to himself, but others know the same things, which he doth, and many things better than he.

9. In matters of *commerce*, and *contracts* which arise from thence. Now a contract is a mutual transferring of right. When I buy any thing of another, he makes over the right of such a commodity to me for so much money, or other valuable thing, the right whereof I make over to him. Now in this kind of intercourse, we are to be govern'd by this great rule. In making of contracts we must *agere bona fide*, deal honestly and truly: in performing of contracts we must *liberare fidem*, satisfy the engagement we have made; for thus we ourselves would be dealt withal.

Now if any shall desire to be more particularly satisfied, *What that exact righteousness is, which in matter of contracts ought to be observed betwixt man and man?* I must confess this is a difficult question, and to be handled very modestly by such, as acknowledge themselves unacquainted with the affairs of the world, and the necessities of things, and the particular and hidden reasons of some kind of dealings; for he, who is ignorant of these, may easily give rules, which will not comply with the affairs of the world. He may complain of that, which cannot be otherwise, and blame some kind of dealings, which are justifiable from particular reasons, not obvious to any man, who is unseen in the way of trade. Besides, there are many cases fall under this question, which are very nice, but of great consequence; and the greater caution and tenderness ought to be us'd in the resolution of them, because they are matters of constant practice, and the greatest part of mankind are concern'd in them. Now it is a dangerous thing to mistake in those things, in

which many persons are interested, especially if they be things of such a vast difference, as good and evil, right and wrong are : For if that be determin'd to be lawful, which is unlawful, men are led into sin ; if that be determin'd to be unlawful, which is lawful, men are led into a snare. For if this determination be to the prejudice of men in their callings, it is an hundred to one but common example and private interest will make many continue in that practice ; and then the mischief is this ; tho' men do that, which is lawful and right, yet they are stagger'd by the authority and confidence of him, who hath determin'd it unlawful ; and so have some reluctance in their consciences in the doing of it ; and this by accident becomes a great sin to them. And when upon a sick bed, or any other occasion, they come to be touch'd with the sense of sin, this will be matter of greater horror and affrightment to them, than a real sin, which they committed ignorantly, and were afterwards convinc'd of. Upon all these considerations, I ought to proceed with great wariness in the answering of this question. Therefore I shall content myself with speaking those things, which are clear and evident, tho' they be but general, rather than venture out of my depth, by descending into particulars, and such things, as are out of my notice.

I shall therefore,

1. Lay down the general rule.
2. Some *propositions*, which may tend to the explication of it.
3. Some special rules for the directing of our commerce and intercourse.

1. The general rule is this, *That, which it is not unreasonable for me to desire to gain by another, when I am to sell, that I should allow another to gain by me, when I am to buy : and that, which is not unreasonable another should gain by me, when I am to buy, that*  
and



and no more I may gain by another, when I am to sell.

2. The *propositions*, which I shall lay down for the further explication of this rule, are these :

(1.) *In buying and selling, such a proportion of gain may be taken, and ought to be allow'd, as is mutually and universally best.* And this every man is presum'd to desire, because this will be certainly good for every one ; whereas if it be not universally good, it may be bad for any one ; if it be not mutually so, it will be bad for me by turns.

(2.) *That proportion of gain, which allows a reasonable compensation for our time, and pains, and hazard, is universally and mutually best.* If the compensation be unreasonably great, it will be bad for the buyer ; if unreasonably little, it will be bad for the seller ; if equal and reasonable, it will be good for all.

(3.) *That proportion of gain, which in common intercourse and use of bargaining, among those, who understand what they buy and sell, is generally allow'd, ought to be esteem'd a reasonable compensation.* This is evident, because the common reason of mankind doth best determine what is reasonable. Therefore, those, who speak of *commutative justice*, and place it in the equality of things contracted for, need explaining ; for *value* is not a thing *absolute* and *certain*, but *relative* and *mutable*. Now to fix the value of things as much as may be, this rule is commonly given, *tanti unumquodque valet, quanti vendi potest ; every thing is worth so much as it may be sold for* : Which must not be understood too particularly, as if the present and particular appetite of the contractor were to be the rule ; for every thing is not worth so much, as any body will give for it ; but so much, as in common intercourse among knowing persons it will give. For this I take for a truth, that in the ordinary plenty of commodities, there is  
an

an ordinary and usual price of them known to the understanding persons of every profession. If I be out in this, the matter of gain will be more uncertain than I thought of.

(4.) *A reasonable compensation doth not consist in an indivisible point, but hath a certain latitude, which likewise is to be determin'd by the common intercourse and practice of men.* Suppose ten in the hundred be the usual gain made of such a commodity, eleven the highest, nine the lowest; the latitude is betwixt nine and eleven.

(5.) *Every man engag'd in a way of commerce is presum'd to understand, unless the contrary be evident.* So that, keeping within the latitude of a lawful gain, I may use my skill against another man in driving a bargain: but if his want of skill be evident, that is, sufficiently known to me, I must use him as I would do a child, or other unskilful person; that is, fairly.

(6.) *Where the price of things alters (as it often doth almost in all things) no other rule can be given but the common and market-price.* There are some things, which are fixedly certain, as coin. There I have no latitude at all; I may not put off a piece of money for more than its value, though a person out of ignorance would take it for more. There are some commodities, which in ordinary plenty, being of ordinary goodness, have an usual price. Here I have but little latitude, viz. that of the market. In the rising and falling of commodities I have a greater latitude; but usually in these cases the market sets some kind of price, unless I be the sole master of a commodity; and here the latitude is the greatest, and my own reason and moderation must limit me. And if any ask, why I make the market the rule? seeing this seems to be, as if I should say, Let every man get as much as he can, for so men in the market do; I answer, The market is usually more

more reasonable than the particular appetites of men ; and tho' every man be apt to get as much as he can, yet men generally have an appetite to sell, as well as to sell dear, and that checks this ; and men are brought to moderation, because they are unwilling to lose custom : so that he, who governs himself by the market-prices, not catching at particular advantages, seems to me to follow the safest rule.

(7.) *There are some things allow'd in common intercourse, which are so rigorous, that they are hardly just,* which are rather tolerable than commendable. I will give one instance instead of many : A man hath a small piece of ground lying within another man's estate ; he is willing to sell, but requires (possibly) forty or sixty years purchase, or more, according to the particular appetite of the purchaser. This seems not to be so agreeable to this great rule of equity. I doubt not but some advantage may be made in this case, and I will not set any peremptory limits : I shall only say this in general, we should set a moderate value upon another man's appetite and convenience.

(8.) *It is to be fear'd, that something very like unrighteousness is woven into the mysteries of most trades ;* and, like PHIDIAS's image in MINERVA's shield, cannot be defac'd without the ruin of it. I think this is not a groundless jealousy, but the confession and complaint of the most knowing and understanding persons in most human affairs. I shall instance only in the slowness of work, the imbasing of commodities, and setting them off by indirect advantages. I can only bewail this ; for unless the world could generally be convinc'd of this, it is not like to be amended. Perfection is not to be look'd for in this imperfect state ; we must be content, if things are passable.

(9.) *Nevertheless we ought to aspire after as great a degree of righteousness and equity, as the condition of*  
*human*

*human affairs will admit.* We should bend all our endeavours to the bettering of the world, and not only avoid all unrighteousness, but draw back, as much as in us lies, from the indirect practices of the world, and from all appearance of unrighteousness.

3. The more particular rules are these :

(1.) *Impose upon no man's ignorance or unskilfulness.* Thou mayst set a just value upon thine own commodity, but not a price upon another man's head. I mean, thou mayst not rate a man's want of understanding, or set a tax upon his ignorance: therefore take no advantage of children, or any other incompetent persons; and do not only use them with justice, but with ingenuity, as those, that repose a trust in you, and cast themselves upon your equity. And here are some questions to be resolv'd.

Quest. 1. *If a man be otherwise skilful in his calling, may not I take advantage of his ignorance of a particular circumstance, wherein the contract is concern'd?*

Ans. I will tell you how TULLY resolves this in a particular case: "A man, says he, brings a ship of corn from *Alexandria* to *Rhodes*, in a time of great famine: he may have what price he will; he knows of a great many more ships, that will be there next day: may he conceal this from the *Rhodians*?" He determines peremptorily he may not. If we will be worse than heathens—I say no more.

Quest 2. *But may we not take advantage of the ignorance of the seller, tho' not of the buyer?* The difference is, he, that offers to sell any thing at such a price, is willing so to part with it: now there is no wrong done to him that is willing.

I answer, *A man is so far willing, as he is knowing:* ARISTOTLE tells us, *that ignorance is a sort of unwill-*



*unwillingness.* If a man out of forgetfulness, or want of consideration, or sufficient understanding of his own calling, mistake himself, I may not make a prize of this man's weakness: for he is only willing to sell it so upon supposition he remembers right, and understands himself aright; but the thing being really worth more, he is absolutely unwilling, and I am injurious to him in taking advantage.

Quest. 3. *May I not sell secret faults and vices in a commodity?*

Ans<sup>r</sup>. If the faults be such, as men take for granted do often happen, and notwithstanding them they do not account any man to have deceiv'd them, then they are faults pardon'd by common consent; but if they be such, as I am griev'd at, and think myself not fairly dealt withal, when they happen, then some think it is enough to allow for them in the price. But I think TULLY hath determin'd it better: *Ne quid omnino quod venditor novit, emptor ignoret, That the buyer* Offic. lib. 3.  
*should not be left ignorant of any thing, that the seller knows.* And this seems reasonable, for I know not but another man may value those faults higher than I do; however it is not so fair for me to make another man's bargain.

(2.) *Impose upon no man's necessity.* If a man must needs buy now, or of thee, because none else is near, make no advantage of this.

(3.) *When God's providence hath put into thy hands some great opportunity and advantage* (as by the intervention of some unexpected law, by a sudden war or peace betwixt nations, or by some other casualty) *do not stretch it to the utmost. Fortunam reverenter habe; use this providential advantage modestly; considering that he, whose blessing gave thee this opportunity, can blast thee a thousand ways.*

(4.) *Use plainness in all your dealings.* This the Roman laws call'd, *bona fide agere.* Do not dispa-

rage another man's commodity, or raise your own besides truth; this is sinful. Do not insinuate a commendation or disparagement indirectly, thereby to lead a man into an error, that you may draw on a bargain the more easily. Do not (as your phrase is) ask or bid much out of the way; for if this be not simply unlawful, yet it doth not become an honest man. We commend the Quakers, because they are at a word in all their dealings: we would be loth not to be counted as good christians as they are. Let us then do as good things as they do, especially when we account those things praiseworthy; and I am sure this is no ways contrary to justice, and honesty, and truth. I know nothing, that gives so real a reputation to that sect as this practice: And would it not adorn those, who account themselves the more sober christians? If we praise this in others, let us practise it in ourselves. We are apt to value ourselves much by our orthodox judgments; but let us take heed, that sectaries do not confute us by their orthodox lives. For the sake of religion, next to your consciences, in all your dealings tender your reputation: For *quod conscientia est apud Deum, id fama est apud homines*: That which conscience is in reference to God, that our reputation is in respect of men.

(5.) *In matters of vanity and fancy, and things, which have no certain estimation, use moderation*; and so much the rather, because in these thou art left to be thy own judge.

(6.) *Do not go to the utmost of things lawful*. He, that will always walk upon the brink, is in great danger of falling down: He, that will do the utmost of what he may, will some time or other be tempted to what he should not; for it is a short and easy passage from the utmost limits of what is *lawful*, to what is *evil* and *unlawful*. Therefore in that latitude, which you have of gain, use *favour towards the poor*

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*poor and necessitous, ingenuity towards the ignorant and unskilful, and moderation towards all men.*

(7.) *Where you have any doubt about the equity of dealings, chuse you the safest part, and that, which will certainly bring you peace.* For not only a good conscience, but a quiet conscience is to be valu'd above gain. Therefore in matters of duty do the most; in matters of privilege and divisions of right, and proportions of gain, where there is any doubt, chuse the least, for this is always safe.

Thus I have laid down the *rule* and explain'd it, and have given as particular directions, as I could safely adventure to do. I must now leave it to every man to apply it more particularly to himself, and to deal faithfully with his own conscience in the use of it. Circumstances, which vary cases, are infinite; therefore, when all is done, much must be left to the equity and chancery of our own breasts. I have not told you how much in the pound you may gain, and no more; nor can I. A man may make a greater gain, at one time than another, of the same thing; he may take those advantages, which the change of things and the providence of God gives him, using them moderately. A man may take more of some persons than of others; provided a man use all men righteously, he may use some favourably. But I have on purpose forbore to descend to too many particularities; among other reasons, for the sake of Sir THOMAS MORE'S observation concerning the Casuists of his time, who, he saith, by their too particular resolutions of cases, did not teach men *non peccare, not to sin*, but did shew them, *quam prope ad peccatum liceat accedere sine peccato*; how near men might come to sin, and yet not sin.

The uses, I shall make of all this, are these two:

U S E

## U S E 1.

*Let us not revenge ourselves.* The rule is not, we should do to others, as they do to us; but as we would have them to do to us; as if it were on purpose to prevent revenge. St. LUKE forbids revenge from this rule, *Luke vi. 31, 32. For if you love them, that love you, &c.* but love your enemies. Revenge is the greatest offence against this rule; for he, that revengeth an injury, hath receiv'd one; he, that has receiv'd one, knows best what that is, which he would not have another to do to him. The nature of evil and injury is better known to the patient than to the agent. Men know better what they suffer, than what they do; he, that is injur'd, feels it, and knows how grievous it is; and will he do that to another?

## U S E 2.

Let me press this rule upon you: Live by it; in all your carriage and dealings with men, let it be present to you. Ask yourselves upon every occasion, "would I, that another should deal thus with me, and carry himself thus towards me?" But I shall press this chiefly as to justice and righteousness in our commerce. It is said, that *Lampridius*. SEVERUS the emperor caus'd this rule to be written upon his palace, and in all public places. Let it be written upon our houses, and shops, and exchanges. This exhortation is not altogether improper for this auditory. You, that frequent these exercises, seem to have a good sense of that part of religion, which is contain'd in the first table. Do not, by your violations of the second, mar your obedience to the first: Do not prove yourselves hypocrites in the first table, by being wicked in the second. Give not the world just cause to say, that you are ungodly, because they find



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find you to be unrighteous ; but manifest your *love to God, whom you have not seen*, by your *love to your brother, whom you have seen* : And if any man wrong his brother, he cannot love him. Do not reject or despise this exhortation, under the contemptuous name of *morality*. Our Saviour tells us, this is a chief part of that, which hath ever been accounted religion in the world. *It is the law and the prophets* ; and he, by enjoining it, hath adopted it into Christianity, and made it gospel. We should have an especial love to this precept, not only, as it is the dictate of nature, and the law of MOSES ; not only as it is a Jewish and Gentile principle, but as it is of the *household of faith*. When the young-man told Christ, that *he had kept the commandments from his youth*, it is said, *Jesus loved him* ; Mark x. 20, 21. Wherever we have learnt to despise *morality*, Jesus loved it. When I read the heathen writers, especially TULLY and SENECA, and take notice, what precepts of morality and laws of kindness are every where in their writings, I am ready to fall in love with them. How should it make our blood rise in many of our faces, who are Christians, to hear with what strictness TULLY *Offic. Lib. 3.* determines cases of conscience, and how generously he speaks of equity and justice towards all men ? *Societatis arctissimum vinculum est magis arbitrari esse contra naturam, hominem homini detrabere sui commodi causa, quam omnia incommoda subire* : This is the strongest bond of society, to account it to be more against nature for any man to wrong another for his own advantage, than to undergo the greatest inconveniencies. And again ; *non enim mihi est vita mea utilior, quam animi talis affectus, neminem ut violem commodi mei gratia* : Nor is my life more dear and profitable to me, than such a temper and disposition of mind, as that I would not wrong any man for my own advantage. Again, *tollendum est in rebus contrahendis omne men-*

*dacium* : No kind of lying must be used in bargaining. And to mention no more ; *nec ut emat melius, nec ut vendat quicquam, simulabit au dissimulabit vir bonus* : A good man will not counterfeit or conceal any thing, that he may buy the cheaper, or sell the dearer. And yet further to check our proneness to despise moral righteousness, I cannot but mention an excellent passage to this purpose, which I have met with

Mr. HALES. in a learned man of our own nation : *Two things, saith he, make up a Christian, a true faith, and an honest conversation ; and though the former usually gives us the title, the latter is the surer. For true profession, without an honest conversation, not only saves not, but increaseth our weight of punishment : but a good life, without true profession, though it brings us not to heaven, yet it lessens the measure of our judgment : So that a moral man, so call'd, is a Christian by the surer side. And afterwards ; I confess, saith he, I have not yet made that proficiency in the schools of our age, as that I could see, why the second table, and the acts of it, are not as properly the parts of religion and Christianity, as the acts and observation of the first. If I mistake, then it is St. JAMES, that hath abus'd me ; for he, describing religion by its proper acts, tells us, that pure religion, and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world : So that that thing, which in an especial refin'd dialect of the new Christian language, signifies nothing but morality and civility, that in the language of the Holy Ghost imports true religion. Mark xii. 33, 34. When the Scribe told Christ, that to love God with all the heart, &c. and our neighbour as ourselves, was more than whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices ; it is said, when Jesus saw, that he answer'd discreetly, he said unto him, thou art not far from the kingdom of God. They, that would have a religion without moral righteousness,*

ness, talk indiscreetly, and are farther from the kingdom of God than a mere moral man. If we neglect this part of religion, we disparage the Gospel, and abuse our profession; we are but pretenders to Christianity. PLUTARCH speaks somewhere to this purpose: "He had rather posterity should say, there was never such a man as PLUTARCH, than that he was a vicious, a cruel, or unjust man." I had rather a man should not call himself a Christian, that he should renounce his title, than that by his life and actions he should represent Christians to the world as oppressors, as unjust and treacherous dealers. If men will only use religion to cover their unrighteousness, I had rather they would put off their cloaks, and be knaves *in querpo*, that every body may know them, than that they should go like highway-men in vizards and disguises, only that they may rob honest men the more securely.

And to move you to the practice of this rule, I shall only offer to you one consideration, but which hath so much weight in it, that it may be instead of many: *As you deal with others, so ye shall be dealt with.* With what measure you meet to others, it shall be measur'd to you, is a proverbial speech often us'd by our Saviour, and which one time or other you will find to be very significant. God doth many times by his providence order things so, that in this life mens unrighteousness returns upon their own heads, and their violent dealing upon their own pates. There is a divine *Nemesis*, which brings our iniquities upon ourselves. No man hath any vice or humour alone, but it may be match'd in the world, either in its own kind, or in another. If a man be cruel and insolent, *a BAJAZET shall meet with a TAMERLANE*: if a man delight to jeer and abuse others, *no man hath so good a wit, but another hath as good a memory*; he will remember it to re-

venge it. He, that makes a trade of deceiving and cozening others, doth but teach others to cozen him; and there are but few masters in any kind, but are out-done by some of their scholars. But however we may escape the hands of men, how shall we escape our own consciences, either trouble of conscience in this life, or the worm of conscience in the next? How shall we escape the hands of the living God? How shall we escape the damnation of hell? *1 Thess. iv. 6. Let no man go beyond, or defraud his brother in any matter, for God is the avenger of all such.* He will take their cause into his own hands, and render to us according to our cruel and fraudulent dealing with others: *Matt. xviii. 35. So likewise shall your heavenly Father do also unto you, &c.* What our Saviour saith, *Matt. xix. 29.* that there is no man, that denies himself in houses or lands, &c. for CHRIST's sake and the Gospel's, but shall receive in this life a hundred fold, and in the world to come everlasting life, is true also here. There is no man, that is injurious to his brother, in houses, or lands, or good name, or any other thing, but shall probably receive in this world a hundred fold; however, without repentance, in the world to come everlasting misery. In the next world men will find, that they have but impoverish'd themselves by their ill gotten wealth, and heap'd up for themselves treasures of wrath. Read those words, and tremble at them, *Jam. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl, for your misery shall come upon you, &c.*

Let us then be persuaded, as we love God, whom *we have not seen*, as we love the Gospel, which we read and hear every day, and would preserve the reputation of it; as we would better the world, and the condition of mankind; as we love ourselves, and our own peace and happiness; to deal justly and equally with all men. Till we come



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to live by this rule of equity, we can never hope to see the world a quiet habitation. But if this were practis'd among us, then glory would dwell in our land; mercy and truth would meet together; righteousness and peace would kiss each other: truth would

*Psal. lxxxv.*

9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

spring out of the earth, and righteousness would look down from heaven: yea, the Lord would give that, which is good, and our land would yield her increase; righteousness would go before him, and set us in the way of his steps.



H h 3

I N D E X

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# I N D E X.

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